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John McDonogh--New Orleans Mercantile Capitalist

BY LEWIS E. ATHERTON

John McDonogh's career attracted attention in his own day because of his reputation as a wealthy eccentric and miser. Some indication of the interest attached to this strange personality is evidenced in the report of his death in the New Orleans *Picayune*, October 27, 1850:

The announcement yesterday evening of the death of John McDonogh took our city by surprise, and formed the sole subject for conversation wherever he was known. His long residence among us, his immense wealth, his peculiar habits and appearance had made his name familiar, not only here, but everywhere in the state, as a household word.

He seemed to many a being apart from his fellow man. While youth, and strength, and beauty were, year after year, struck down beside him, he moved on, tall, spare, erect, with sprightly step and look. Every school urchin recognized at first glance the thin, sharp, intelligent face, the small, sparkling brown eyes, the long white hair, the neat, prim white cravat and high shirt-collar, the well-preserved old hat and blue umbrella, and the old-fashioned, tight-fitting blue cloth dress-coat and pantaloons and well-polished shoes.

We had gradually become impressed with the idea that he would never die; he appeared as much an indestructible relic of our city's ancient history as the old State House or the old Cathedral. One of these antique monuments has been razed to the ground; the other has thrown off its old vesture for a new one; and the third, John McDonogh, now lies ready for his last journey and his last resting place—the tomb.¹

The reporter did not need to allude to McDonogh's reputation as a miser, for such was the common appellation for him throughout New

¹ Quoted in William T. Childs, *John McDonogh: His Life and Work* (Baltimore, 1939), 28-29. The writer was enabled to do the research work for this article through a grant from the University of Missouri research fund.

Orleans. A few knew of his charitable activities and the purposes for which he had left his estate, but these were bound by McDonogh's insistence on secrecy, during his lifetime, as to his philanthropy. Consequently the public developed a strong dislike for him, a condition of which McDonogh was aware and from which he seemed to derive a certain melancholy pleasure. A memorandum attached to his will several years before his death illustrated the mutual distrust and recrimination which existed between him and the public:

I have very much to complain of the world, rich as well as poor. It has harassed me in a thousand different ways. Suits at law, of great injustice, have been carried on and instituted against me, to deprive and take from me property honestly acquired; (for I have none, nor ever would have any, that was not acquired by honest industry and the sweat of my brow) and when obliged to seek justice through courts of law, it has often and often been refused me. They said of me, "He is rich, old, without wife or child, let us take from him then what he has." Infatuated men! they knew not that that was an attempt to take from themselves; for I was laboring and had labored all my life, not for myself, but for them, and their children. Their attempts, however, made me not to swerve either to the right hand or to the left, although to see and feel so sorely their injustice and ingratitude made me often to lament the frailty, the perverseness and the sinfulness of our fallen nature. I preserved an onward course, determined (as the steward and servant of my Master) to do them good whether they would have it or whether they would not have it.²

One can easily understand how a man with such views might win the public's dislike, and not without a certain amount of justice on the latter's part. Furthermore, the financial success of McDonogh's business operations over a period of half a century in New Orleans served to keep him in the public mind and thereby call attention to his unusual personality. No wonder then that he made a marked impression on even so cosmopolitan a center as New Orleans.

When the provisions of his will became known shortly after his death, the unusual nature of that document created even more of a McDonogh legend. The greater part of his estate, well over a million dollars, went to the cities of New Orleans and Baltimore for the purpose of educating the poor. By limiting expenditures from his bequest

² Quoted in *ibid.*, 18.

to earnings only, and through the natural increase in the value of the properties, McDonogh hoped that the advantages of education might ultimately be available to all citizens of Louisiana and Maryland, and even perhaps to the inhabitants of the United States as a whole.³ The revelation of this Napoleonic dream has led to a public admission of his sincerity, but a certain austerity and fanatical narrowness on his part has remained to dim his reputation as a philanthropist. Nonetheless, McDonogh schools and statues in New Orleans and Baltimore reveal the accomplishment of at least a part of his dream, and a generous recognition by a later generation of his contribution to American education.

McDonogh also devoted attention to the problem of Negro slavery, and worked out an ingenious scheme whereby some of his own slaves earned sufficient money to purchase their freedom and migrate to Liberia.⁴ His attempt to get other slaveowners in the Deep South to adopt this plan and his correspondence with members of the American Colonization Society naturally called attention to his work.

It is not surprising, therefore, that McDonogh has continued to attract interest. Numerous articles have appeared, decade by decade, discussing his philanthropy, wealth, and personality. He has been the subject of two biographies by members of the McDonogh school at Baltimore, the key character in one novel, and a member of the supporting cast in such recent "best sellers" as *Anthony Adverse*.⁵ His two biographers have devoted little attention to his mercantile career, however, and only certain aspects of that period of his life have been treated in articles. The relatively short time spent by McDonogh in merchandising and his financial success as a real-estate speculator perhaps ac-

³ His will is discussed at length in *ibid.*, 37-48.

⁴ James T. Edwards (ed.), *Some Interesting Papers of John McDonogh* (McDonogh, Md., 1898), 43-104, contains much of the material dealing with this subject.

⁵ Of the two main biographies, the one by Childs, previously cited, is the more recent. The other, William Allan, *Life and Work of John McDonogh* (Baltimore, 1886), reveals more actual acquaintance with McDonogh manuscripts, however, and in many respects is still the more usable of the two. McDonogh was the key character in Willson Whitman's novel, *Contradance: A Puritan's Progress in New Orleans* (Indianapolis, 1930). Childs gives a partial bibliography of publications on McDonogh in his biography.

count for the greater emphasis on the latter aspect of his business dealings. It is evident, however, that McDonogh's very capable abilities received their first test and tempering in the mercantile world, and the capital with which he first engaged in land speculation came from his early activities as a New Orleans merchant.⁶

Little is known of McDonogh's early life. He was born in Baltimore, December 29, 1779, and seems to have received a good, common-school education.⁷ On December 9, 1795, his father indentured him to William Taylor, a Baltimore merchant, "to learn his art, trade, and mystery," an agreement which was to run for a period of five years, with McDonogh receiving £10 the second year and £20 each of the last three for his services.⁸ McDonogh must have impressed Taylor with his ability, for shortly before or after the expiration of his indenture in 1800, and while he was still a young man of only twenty-one, Taylor sent him to New Orleans to handle the latter's business in that port.⁹

Much has been written of McDonogh's reputation as "a man about town" in these early years, and he did engage in society to a greater extent than was his custom in later life. One need not, however, attribute his later complete absorption in business and almost hermit-like existence to disappointments in love, or to sudden and severe illness.

⁶ Alexander Walker in his article, "John McDonogh the Millionaire," in *Continental Monthly* (New York, 1862-1864), II (1862), 170, estimated McDonogh's wealth from his early mercantile ventures at \$300,000. It is evident from the McDonogh manuscripts, however, that no valid estimate is possible as to the value of his property at the time he ceased merchandising. Walker's article is an excellent example of the extent to which the McDonogh legend had grown within a few years after his death. Although exceedingly interesting, many of Walker's statements have no better source than his imagination.

The McDonogh manuscripts used by the writer are now deposited in the Howard-Tilton Memorial Library at Tulane University in New Orleans. At the time they were examined, nine volumes were in the Howard Memorial Library, and Tulane University had a collection divided into an A Series of letters and a B Series of business papers. The form of classification employed by the two libraries at the time the writer examined the manuscripts will be observed in this paper. The two collections give a very good picture of McDonogh's business enterprises, although both are rather meager for the period 1806-1809. It is possible that the papers for those years are in the private possession of James Thompson of New Orleans, a collection to which the writer was unable to obtain access.

⁷ Allan, *Life and Work of John McDonogh*, 6-8.

⁸ The indenture is given in full in Childs, *John McDonogh*, 4-5.

⁹ William Taylor to John McDonogh, January 14, 1801, in Tulane A Series.

Both explanations have been advanced, but there is little or nothing in his personal papers to support either.

One is tempted to attribute his early "fondness" for society to a realization that such was good policy. He must have attended closely to business to win Taylor's complete confidence while still an apprentice, and the trust placed in him by many other mature businessmen in his early years at New Orleans points in the same direction. His independence of judgment and the zeal with which he expanded his activities in that period at times caused even Taylor to quarrel with him. They were not qualities likely to be found in a young man fond of society for its own sake. Furthermore, the set of rules which he drew up for his own guidance in 1804, when he was only twenty-five, were hardly the product of a young man enamored of society.

*Remember always that labor is one of the conditions of our existence.
Time is gold: throw not one minute away, but place each one to account.
Do unto all men as you would be done by.
Never put off till tomorrow what you can do today.
Never bid another do what you can do yourself.
Never covet what is not your own.
Never think any matter so trivial as not to deserve notice.
Never give out that which does not first come in.
Never spend but to produce.
Let the greatest order regulate the transactions of your life.
Study in the course of your life to do the greatest possible amount of good.
Deprive yourself of nothing necessary to your comfort, but live in an honorable simplicity and frugality.
Labor, then, to the last moment of your existence.
Pursue strictly the above rules, and the Divine blessings and riches of every kind will flow upon you to your heart's content; but, first of all, remember that the first and great study of your life should be to tend by all the means in your power to the honor and glory of the Divine Creator.
The conclusion at which I have arrived is that without temperance there is no health; without virtue, no order; without religion, no happiness; and the sum of our being is to live wisely, soberly and righteously.¹⁰*

When McDonogh entered the business world at the beginning of the nineteenth century the characteristic features of the Commercial Revo-

¹⁰ Childs, *John McDonogh*, 9-10.

lution were still much in evidence. Great fortunes came from trade rather than manufacturing. It was still a "swapping" age, with the larger traders sending their vessels to the ends of the earth in search of products that would yield a profit. Sedentary merchants now directed activities from one central location instead of traveling with their cargoes, but the pattern of great wealth was still distinctly mercantile.¹¹ As Taylor's representative at New Orleans and a trader on his own part, McDonogh fitted this general pattern. The city itself reflected the commercial nature of the time. A French visitor in 1803 reported: "The principal occupation is that of commerce, that is to say, of buying the cargoes of ships and selling them at wholesale or selling them upon commission."¹²

In many respects New Orleans was a fortunate location for McDonogh or any other young merchant. The town more than doubled its population in the first ten years of his residence,¹³ and at the same time its commerce was making rapid strides.¹⁴ On the other hand, the picture was not wholly favorable, either in New Orleans or the world at large. International wars marked much of the period, and traders scarcely knew what to expect from one day to another. Blockades, captures at sea, closed ports, tariff changes, even outright confiscation of cargoes, made business extremely hazardous. New Orleans itself was under the flag of three different countries within the first three years of McDonogh's residence, and success or failure frequently turned quite as much on the course of international events as on astute planning by the individual merchant.

¹¹ Kenneth W. Porter (ed.), *The Jacksons and the Lees: Two Generations of Massachusetts Merchants, 1765-1844*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1937), I, 3-130, has an excellent discussion of the business pattern of the period in Massachusetts, which is applicable in large part to the rest of the United States.

¹² Charles C. Robin, *Voyages dans l'intérieur de la Louisiane, de la Floride occidentale, et dans les îles de la Martinique et de Saint-Domingue, pendant les années 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805 et 1806*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1807), II, 76, quoted in Albert Phelps, *Louisiana: A Record of Expansion* (Boston, 1905), 210.

¹³ James E. Winston, "Notes on the Economic History of New Orleans, 1803-1836," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (Cedar Rapids, 1914-), XI (1924-1925), 200-201, n. 3.

¹⁴ Edward Channing, *A History of the United States*, 6 vols. (New York, 1905-1925), IV, 311-12, ns. 1, 2, indicate the growth of commerce.

The exact time and circumstances of McDonogh's arrival at New Orleans cannot be determined. An article in the New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, August 10, 1873,¹⁵ depicts him as sailing to Liverpool in 1800 as supercargo on one of the Taylor vessels, with orders to load goods suitable to the Louisiana market and to proceed at once to New Orleans. According to this account, in keeping with his instructions, he reached the mouth of the Mississippi River in September, 1800, and, as the vessel came up that stream, hired a horse some twenty miles below the city and rode in ahead of the boat on the morning of October 3, 1800. He was thus able to present himself to the consignees of the cargo before the ship reached port, and almost immediately disposed of a large part of the cargo. The remainder was deposited in a rented store, but found a purchaser in a short time. The *Picayune* story is thoroughly plausible, as it does no violence to what could, and perhaps did, actually take place. Unfortunately, there is no positive proof for any part of the account in the McDonogh papers.

It is clear that McDonogh was in New Orleans by the latter part of the year 1800. The first extant letter from his employer, William Taylor at Baltimore, was dated January 14, 1801, and addressed to him in care of Mackey and Brown at New Orleans.¹⁶ The method of address indicates the probability that as yet he had no permanent business location, although the contents imply that Taylor expected McDonogh to remain at New Orleans. This first letter indicated both the nature of the business and the difficulties which the participants would face for the next few years. One of Taylor's ships, the *Montezuma*, had been seized by the English on the excuse that she had Castile soap on board.¹⁷

¹⁵ Cited in Allan, *Life and Work of John McDonogh*, 12-13, n. 1.

¹⁶ William Taylor to McDonogh, January 14, 1801, in Tulane A Series. Taylor, a native of Barnstable, Massachusetts, had entered business in Baltimore in 1783 and developed an extensive trade with Europe, the West Indies, and Spanish America. Allan, *Life and Work of John McDonogh*, 8, n. 1. During his business career he trained a number of young men, several of whom, like McDonogh, represented his interests in various ports. Taylor is a good example of the sedentary merchant of the period. His brother John operated a branch house in England from about 1789 (according to William Taylor to McDonogh, January 14, 1801, in Tulane A Series) to the time of his death in 1805. Jeannette Taylor Warren to McDonogh, December 9, 1845, in Howard Collection.

¹⁷ At this time Europe was still fighting the war created by the Second Coalition of Great Britain, Austria, and Russia against Napoleon.

Taylor hoped that the influence of his brother John's house in England would effect a release, but was not so optimistic as to ignore the necessity of revising shipping schedules *if* John failed. If the *Montezuma* were not released and the ship *Dolphin* not needed by another of Taylor's young representatives, the *Dolphin* would proceed to New Orleans in ballast, where Taylor wanted McDonogh to provide a load of cotton, logwood, and molasses. As Taylor's agent, McDonogh was expected to dispose of such goods as Taylor sent to New Orleans, and to remit the proceeds in the various articles of commerce available locally. McDonogh, of course, would receive the customary commissions for effecting such business, and it is very likely that he also hoped to contribute a small part of the capital for the conduct of the trade as time went on. The arrangement was the usual one in the days of mercantile capitalism. Always, however, in the early days of the New Orleans venture the word "if" assumed major importance because of the unsettled nature of world affairs.

As a whole, the foreign wars created excellent opportunities for American business in the period from 1800 to 1802, until the Peace of Amiens in March, 1802, brought a sharp contraction; consequently, Taylor permitted a rapid expansion of McDonogh's activities in New Orleans throughout the year 1801. During the summer McDonogh made a trip to England, probably with a cargo of provisions, and returned with a large stock of British merchandise on which he had promised John Taylor to make remittances within six months.¹⁸ About the same time he and W. O. Payne entered the partnership of McDonogh and Payne, the latter being another of the young men whom Taylor had trained in Baltimore.¹⁹ Both had the confidence of Taylor,

¹⁸ John Taylor to McDonogh, October 13, 1801; *id.* to McDonogh and Payne, October 6, 1802, in Tulane A Series.

¹⁹ James T. Magruder to McDonogh and Payne, November 13, 1801; William Taylor to *id.*, August 7, 1802, *ibid.*, plus the fact that the firm of McDonogh and Payne was dissolved August 27, 1802 (partnerships at this period very often were made just for one year) indicate that the original agreement probably was made in August, 1801. The notice of dissolution appeared in the *Moniteur de la Louisiane*, September 4, 1802, and is cited in Maude R. Fulson, "Some Studies in the Life of John McDonogh" (M.A. thesis, Tulane University, 1930), 16. The writer has been unable to locate any of the various partnership documents of McDonogh. These would throw considerable light on his activities.

and the expansion of activities in New Orleans undoubtedly made the arrangement convenient.

Shepherd Brown, another Taylor protégé, arrived in the city as early as the fall of 1801, handled some of Taylor's goods, and also maintained connections with McDonogh and Payne. On November 23 Taylor consigned him a shipment of dry goods, bricks, glue, oil, soap, liquors, salt, spades, frying pans, raisins, and crackers, and requested a return cargo.²⁰ At the time Brown was in the upper country trying to purchase cotton for shipment to Taylor as a remittance for goods being sent to the ambitious, young New Orleans representatives. On the twenty-eighth he wrote to McDonogh's place of business "near the Custom House" in New Orleans that he had visited most of the principal planters on his trip to Natchez, but reported that he had accomplished virtually nothing because most of the large crops had already been engaged. He had found spirited competition for "not less than 20 persons" located in Natchez were daily riding through the country to buy for New Orleans merchants whom they represented. As a result, the planters had an exaggerated idea of the price of cotton, and Brown had come to the conclusion that it could be bought at lower prices in New Orleans later in the season.²¹ His troubles presaged a situation which Taylor never seemed to understand, and against which he always complained, the inability of his representatives to make remittances of products rapidly enough to cover bills for goods which Taylor sent them. The Baltimore merchant undoubtedly bought merchandise on too short a time to get return shipments before his bills came due, but he blamed his difficulties on the youngsters at New Orleans.

Most of Taylor's 1801 shipments to New Orleans were consigned to McDonogh and Payne, and were sent to them in the fall of that year. In variety they were quite extensive—hardware, tableware, dry goods, groceries, oil, lead, steel, and even a ship to sell.²² The records of sales

²⁰ William Taylor to Shepherd Brown, November 23, 1801, in Tulane A Series; cargo list of same shipment, in Tulane B Series.

²¹ Brown to McDonogh, November 28, 1801, in Tulane A Series.

²² William Taylor to McDonogh and Payne, December 28, 30, 1801, *ibid.*; cargo list, November 23, 1801, in Tulane B Series.

are meager, but those still in existence indicate that part of the goods sold at auction. Early in 1802 McDonogh disposed of quantities of wines and dry goods by that process, paying a commission of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent to the auctioneer, and agreeing to wait three months for payment on the dry goods.²³ The partners depended mainly on Taylor and his associates for business during their first year of operation.

Taylor did not overlook the opportunity for sales farther up the river, and in the fall of 1801 sent a vessel to Loftus Heights, the American port of entry on the river near Natchez. McDonogh and Payne, of course, could not care for sales at that place, and Perrot and Brinaud, who shipped the order from Bordeaux, instructed the consignee at Loftus Heights, Walter Burling, to follow Taylor's orders for disposal of the cargo. Luxury goods—wines, dry goods, and clothing—made up a large part of this shipment, which had cost Taylor 148,363 francs at its destination. His instructions to the captain to deliver a small box of samples of wine and brandy on shore, to demonstrate the quality of the whole before landing the ship, indicated his intention to impress the inhabitants with the superb nature of his merchandise.²⁴

James T. Magruder, captain of one of Taylor's ships, was probably already at Natchez selling a less exciting cargo of goods when the French shipment came up the river. Magruder reported to McDonogh in November that he had sold in ten days \$300 worth of merchandise at from $33\frac{1}{3}$ to 50 per cent on invoice. He hoped to dispose of the remainder within five or six weeks at the same rates, although he would have to take cotton in payment because of the scarcity of cash.²⁵ The next eighteen months were to reveal how fatuous Magruder's early optimism had been.

Disquieting signs were appearing at the very time Taylor was ex-

²³ Accounts of sales, January 19, February 8, 1802, in Tulane B Series.

²⁴ Perrot and Brinaud to Walter Burling, September 6, 1801, in Tulane A Series; cargo list, September 19, 1801, in Tulane B Series. See Mack Swearingen (ed.), "Luxury at Natchez in 1801: A Ship's Manifest from the McDonogh Papers," in *Journal of Southern History* (Baton Rouge, 1935-), III (1937), 188-90, for an interesting suggestion as to the significance of this cargo in measuring the development of society at Natchez in 1801.

²⁵ Magruder to McDonogh and Payne at New Orleans, November 13, 1801, in Tulane A Series.

panding his activities in the New Orleans trade. International peace would destroy the advantages which American commerce had enjoyed during the war of the Second Coalition, and the success of Napoleon's armies on the Continent indicated that hostilities might be terminated any time. During the closing months of 1801 McDonogh received mistaken reports of peace from both Baltimore and England. In these the Taylors and their agents revealed their appreciation of the bad effects which peace would have on mercantile operations,²⁶ although they failed to get their business in better shape before the war actually ended the following spring.

Cargoes of goods continued to arrive for McDonogh and Payne in the early months of 1802.²⁷ On March 25, however, the Peace of Amiens brought a temporary halt in hostilities between France and England, and for the next eighteen months McDonogh went through perhaps the most trying time of his long business career. The favored position of American shipping was gone, Napoleon was free for the time being to push his plans to build an empire in the New World, and the Taylors expected immediate remittances of thousands of dollars worth of provisions from New Orleans. Fortunately for McDonogh's peace of mind, the future was not an open book for him in the spring of 1802.

William Taylor began his pressure immediately after peace was declared. In a letter written the latter part of April he itemized the results of his New Orleans venture. On six voyages his advancements were \$328,000.00, less the credit to McDonogh and Payne of \$94,797.54 for four return cargoes. Thus he still had \$234,000.00 tied up in New Orleans at a time when "ruin and destruction" were pervading the commercial world. Only rapid remittances would save him from following his brother into bankruptcy, an event that he expected in the near future.²⁸ McDonogh apparently maintained his equanimity in the face of trouble, however, and even insisted that he be sent more English

²⁶ See V. P. Ashfield, who handled McDonogh's shipments to John Taylor on commission, to McDonogh, October 12, 1801; John Taylor to *id.*, October 13, 1801; and William Taylor to McDonogh and Payne, December 28, 1801, *ibid.*

²⁷ Cargo lists, February 17, May 5, 1802, in Tulane B Series.

²⁸ William Taylor to McDonogh and Payne, April 30, 1802, in Tulane A Series.

goods, a request which Taylor agreed to forward to his brother John in England.²⁹

By August, Taylor was really desperate. A letter of the seventh charged the New Orleans partners with being the cause of his troubles, and announced that only the pressure of business in Baltimore prevented him from coming out to take charge of things. It was now more than a year since he had received large cargoes for the credit of McDonogh and Payne, and on these he had lost over \$7,000, not counting freight. "For God sake be roused! and let me consider you in the same light, as I did before you went to New Orleans. I speak to you both, and let each take it to himself."³⁰

Taylor continued to demand remittances during the remainder of the year. His exhortations ranged from the charge that the young partners were reported to be careless in business or dissipated to expressions of great affection for them.³¹ He condemned their business methods and suggested means for improvement.³² His letters proved of little avail in the end; remittances in sufficient quantity to ease his mind were simply not to be had.

John Taylor in England was even more violent in his denunciations of the partners during the crisis, perhaps because his affairs were even more involved. A letter of August 11 revealed his highly disturbed state of mind. The partners were thanked for consideration shown to Taylor's wife, then in ill health, but they did not escape his ire. If his distress for money proved ruinous to his credit, "Mr McDonogh, & myself, must not, & will not both live in the world, if I can find him upon the face of God almighty's Earth."³³

²⁹ *Id.* to *id.*, July 1, 1802, *ibid.*

³⁰ *Id.* to *id.*, August 7, 1802, *ibid.*

³¹ *Id.* to *id.*, August 14, 15, 1802, *ibid.* Allan, *Life and Work of John McDonogh*, 15-16, apparently relying on the statement in the letter of August 14, 1802, says that R. D. Shepherd made a trip to New Orleans in the summer of 1802. The writer has found no other mention of the trip in the McDonogh papers, and it is very likely that he did not go out in that year. R. D. Shepherd was one of the young men whom Taylor had trained as an apprentice. He was married to Taylor's niece. *Ibid.*, 15, n. 3.

³² William Taylor to McDonogh and Payne, October 6, 1802, in Tulane A Series.

³³ John Taylor to *id.*, August 11, 1802, *ibid.*

In October, John Taylor became convinced that Spain would turn New Orleans over to the French, and ordered McDonogh to get William Taylor's property out at once to prevent confiscation. Unless information and remittances arrived shortly John would have to visit New Orleans; and again there was a threat of violence in his statement that if he got away from New Orleans alive he would also visit his brother in Baltimore. The letter closed with an urgent appeal to get three fourths of the property out of the port at once.³⁴

There was every reason for the Taylors to be alarmed. Talleyrand had schemed to rebuild French influence in the New World since 1798, and the Peace of Amiens gave Napoleon a chance to act. He had made arrangements with Spain for the return of Louisiana in October, 1800, and now, almost two years to the day later, Spain was preparing to get out. General Charles Leclerc, Napoleon's brother-in-law, had been in Santo Domingo with an army since January, 1802, and not until November of that year did it become clear that the French schemes in the West Indies were likely to fail. Already, however, on October 16, 1802, the Spanish Intendant at New Orleans had stopped the American right of deposit at that port, thus seriously affecting the export trade down the Mississippi River and the prosperity of American commission agents who handled the traffic. The renewal of the European war and the acquisition of Louisiana by the United States within a year restored American commercial opportunities at New Orleans, but the period from March, 1802, to the summer of 1803 brought failures for many merchants and threats of disaster to all who operated in the New Orleans area.³⁵

In spite of the constant pressure from the Taylors and the gloomy rumors that circulated at New Orleans, McDonogh seems not to have lessened his efforts to establish himself. Perhaps he was too deeply involved to get out, but at least he attempted to weather the storm. On the other hand, his partner, W. O. Payne, decided to transfer to an-

³⁴ *Id. to id.*, October 6, 1802, *ibid.*

³⁵ Channing, *History of the United States*, IV, 304-25. For a fuller account, see Henry Adams, *History of the United States of America* [during the Administrations of Jefferson and Madison], 9 vols. (New York, 1889-1891), I, II.

other location. On August 27, 1802, McDonogh and Payne closed the partnership, and McDonogh agreed to pay Payne \$10,000 for his share.³⁶ Payne then removed to New York and continued business as a member of the commission house of Forbes and Payne until his death in 1804.³⁷ One can only speculate as to the reasons for the change. Perhaps the dangers of the international situation and the continued displeasure of the Taylors convinced Payne that success in New Orleans was impossible. In his first letter to McDonogh from New York, Payne reported the rumor that the French fleet was sailing to take New Orleans and expressed his intention of not "adventuring to that country."³⁸ Perhaps McDonogh's lifelong penchant for keeping his own capital and all that he could borrow employed in expanding business activities seemed dangerous to his partner. In May, 1803, Payne expressed surprise that McDonogh had been able to return so little of Taylor's capital. The two young men had agreed at the closing of the partnership that the whole might shortly be realized.³⁹ McDonogh was scrupulously honest, but his undoubted ability in finding opportunities for profitable investments caused him to keep capital and credit which passed through his hands the full time he was legally entitled to its use.⁴⁰

Shortly after Payne's departure McDonogh formed a business association with Shepherd Brown, an arrangement that lasted in various forms until the latter's death. Under the title of John McDonogh Jr.

³⁶ Fulson, "Some Studies in the Life of John McDonogh," 16.

³⁷ Printed circular of July 1, 1803, announcing the firm of Forbes and Payne, in Tulane A Series. Notice of Payne's death is included in a letter from John Taylor to McDonogh, March 31, 1804, *ibid.*

³⁸ W. O. Payne to McDonogh, September 11, 1802, *ibid.*

³⁹ *Id.* to John McDonogh Jr. and Company, May 9, 1803, *ibid.*

⁴⁰ A number of letters in the McDonogh manuscripts support the idea. After McDonogh quit merchandising he sold part of his crops through R. D. Shepherd and Company of New Orleans and had the privilege of drawing against them. The extent to which he exercised the privilege is indicated in a letter to him from Shepherd, January 15, 1814, in Howard Collection. Shepherd had just received word that McDonogh was overdrawn better than \$50,000, and among other things commented, "Good God, what capital can stand this." The business associates of McDonogh seem frequently to have called upon God to witness their inability to recover their capital rapidly. See also, Rawley Evans to Shepherd Brown and Company, December 13, 1805, *ibid.*

and Company the two continued the activities of the old firm of McDonogh and Payne. In order to share in the provisions trade, created by large shipments from American territory up the river, they established the firm of Shepherd Brown and Company, and Brown devoted much of his effort in that direction. During the next few years he made trips in the back country and became well acquainted in the states and territories to the north.⁴¹

The upriver business of the young organization was naturally retarded by the closure of the port of New Orleans, but it was establishing connections that would prove helpful in the future. McDonogh was now sufficiently well known in Natchez to have merchants preparing to open business there referred to him for grocery stocks.⁴² A Philadelphia house advised its Cincinnati correspondents to entrust their shipments of flour and pork to Brown,⁴³ and shippers who had already tried the New Orleans market relied on him for information. In December a New Jersey merchant requested a report on the political and commercial situation. He had \$20,000 to invest in a consignment for Brown, and was only waiting for the latter's opinion as to which would be most profitable, Pittsburgh produce or New York merchandise.⁴⁴ Letters of similar nature were received from houses in Baltimore and the West Indies.⁴⁵

⁴¹ John McDonogh Jr. and Company was in operation by September 7, 1802. See R. B. Forbes to the firm, November 7, 1802, in Tulane A Series, announcing receipt of a circular of September 7 describing the new arrangement. Shepherd Brown and Company was formed at the same time, or shortly thereafter, as letters were being received under that address as early as December. See John McKim to Shepherd Brown and Company, December 7, 1802, *ibid.* William Taylor to *id.*, May 28, 1803, *ibid.*, speaks of Brown's plans to travel through the western country. On February 27, 1804, Joseph Markle of Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, invited Brown to spend a week at his home on his trip that year. *Ibid.* The writer has been unable to locate the two partnership agreements, but the fact that most of the letters dealing with the upcountry produce trade were addressed to Shepherd Brown and Company and those dealing with foreign and coastal trade generally came to John McDonogh Jr. and Company seems to indicate that the partners separated the trade of the two concerns along that line.

⁴² William Renner to McDonogh and Payne, September 10, 1802, *ibid.*

⁴³ Bickham and Reese to Shepherd Brown and Company, December 21, 1802, *ibid.*

⁴⁴ William Johnson to Brown, December 28, 1802, *ibid.*

⁴⁵ James L. Forbes to Payne, McDonogh and Company, September 4, 1802; John McKim to Shepherd Brown and Company, December 7, 1802, *ibid.*

Business remained dull throughout the fall and winter, however, and goods sold slowly. Captain Magruder was still at Natchez in December trying to complete sales on the cargo which he had brought up the river in November, 1801. McDonogh was trying to dispose of Taylor's goods at New Orleans and suggested sending fifty tons of iron to Natchez. Magruder discouraged this by insisting that such a quantity, with that already on hand in Natchez stores, could not be sold in less than twelve months without great sacrifices.⁴⁶ A Natchez merchant was willing to accept some on consignment as it was Swedish iron and might sell in competition with American, but he too reported the market sluggish.⁴⁷

Magruder's troubles illustrate the difficulties that all merchants were facing. The Natchez market was overstocked in many items, and in the end he returned to Baltimore without completing sales—the remainder of his goods was left in the hands of a Natchez merchant on commission. Taylor reported that he had made "a horrid voyage," which must have been the case as a small venture of Magruder's in New Orleans had to be turned over to Taylor to square accounts.⁴⁸

Furthermore, the international situation was dark indeed, if McDonogh could rely on information received from Washington in January, 1803. His informant had some goods on consignment with the partners in New Orleans and wanted his venture closed as quickly as possible. He commented on the uncertainty created by the suspension of the right of deposit the preceding October, and saw little hope for prosperity in New Orleans in the near future. If the Spanish bought flour for Cuba through the New Orleans port, the western country would be fortunate, even though prices would be low. Should the French take New Orleans, however, the chance for Cuban sales would be gone. The French were poor, and their conduct when poor and hungry had already been demonstrated by their actions in the West Indies.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Magruder to John McDonogh Jr. and Company, November 20, 1802, *ibid.*

⁴⁷ Joseph Graham to McDonogh, December 1, 1802, *ibid.*

⁴⁸ Magruder to John McDonogh Jr. and Company, December 28, 1802; William Taylor to McDonogh, July 25, August 18, 1803, *ibid.*

⁴⁹ John J. Myers to Shepherd Brown and Company, January 18, 1803, in Tulane B Series.

Although such evils failed to materialize in New Orleans, McDonogh must have pondered over this analysis of future prospects received directly from the nation's capital.

The year 1803 brought a decided change in his favor, a transformation greatly facilitated by the formal renewal of the European war in May and the acquisition of Louisiana by the United States in April. As early as January the Taylors began to realize that McDonogh had been dealing with an impossible situation, and threats against his life and constant reflections on his ability disappeared from their letters. William continued to push him for remittances in the hope of relieving his brother's situation in England, which had now become desperate, but his instructions had assumed a more moderate tone. John was expected in New Orleans in January or earlier in quest of money to pay his debts in England, and William was anxious to obtain \$50,000 in remittances from New Orleans, principally in cotton, to facilitate the project.⁵⁰ John did not make the trip until later in the year, although William continued to worry over the prospect of the impending suspension of payments by his brother involving his own affairs. A letter in February appealed to McDonogh to prevent that "unfortunate Il[1]-managed concern of New Orleans from being my ruin," since all resources would be required to carry the brothers through.⁵¹

In May, Shepherd Brown made a trip to Baltimore and reported that William Taylor was feeling like a new man, a friend having advanced "immense sums" to help him through the crisis.⁵² The visit seemed to give Taylor renewed confidence in McDonogh's conduct of affairs at New Orleans, or at least a realization of how severe his earlier condemnations had been, for he frequently took pains in his future correspondence to assure that individual of his complete trust. Even his letters in May, in which he announced that his brother had suspended payments in England until November, carried an assurance of confidence in McDonogh. Furthermore, his instructions were more to the

⁵⁰ William Taylor to McDonogh, January 1, February 14, 1803; *id.* to John Taylor, January 9, 1803, in Tulane A Series.

⁵¹ *Id.* to John McDonogh Jr. and Company, February 14, 1803, in Howard Collection.

⁵² Brown to McDonogh, May 4, 1803, in Tulane A Series.

point and capable of being realized. He warned against sales on long-term credits, even though they might seem highly profitable, and called attention to specific items—sugar, indigo, and lead—which would yield a profit in the Baltimore market. Stocks from former shipments which would not sell in New Orleans were to be returned in the hope of finding purchasers elsewhere.⁵³

As the spring advanced shipments to and from New Orleans increased. In the latter part of May, Taylor notified McDonogh that three vessels would be in port at one time, with instructions to load with sugar and indigo if possible.⁵⁴ Taylor hoped that he could raise \$100,000 in the near future through the revival of shipping then taking place. A letter in June reported one ship on its way from Jamaica in ballast, and another, the *Experiment*, coming in with bagging, rope, gin, and candles. The ship *Carlisle* was to be dispatched to Liverpool with cotton and flour.⁵⁵ On the first of July, Taylor reported the renewal of war between France and England, and ordered McDonogh to ship all available cotton to England. R. D. Shepherd was being sent on the next vessel to make an inventory of Taylor's property at New Orleans.⁵⁶ On the eleventh he announced his conviction that New Orleans would become an American city, and warned the partners to collect their bills, lest some of the inhabitants should attempt to evade payment.⁵⁷

Throughout the remainder of 1803 and the year 1804 Taylor's ships landed a varied assortment of wares at New Orleans for McDonogh's disposal. Included were such items as iron, anchors, paints, hardware, molasses casks, hoops for hogsheads, brick, glassware, bagging, rope, candles, provisions, and dry goods. The return cargoes consisted principally of cotton, sugar, and molasses, with flour, indigo, and logwood frequently included.⁵⁸ In the summer of 1803 McDonogh, never prone

⁵³ William Taylor to *id.*, May 11, 28, 1803, *ibid.*

⁵⁴ *Id.* to Brown, May 28, 1803, *ibid.*

⁵⁵ *Id.* to John McDonogh Jr. and Company, June 3, 1803, *ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Id.* to *id.*, July 1, 1803, *ibid.*

⁵⁷ *Id.* to McDonogh, July 11, 1803, *ibid.*

⁵⁸ Most of Taylor's letters at this period contain notices of shipments. For return cargoes, see bills of lading, August 26, October 4, 1803; August 11, 27, 1804, in Tulane B Series.

to brag, wrote his father that he was building his own warehouses to care for the large business passing through his hands.⁵⁹ Henry Molier and Company soon became his favorite auctioneers and disposed of dry goods and other items for him from time to time.⁶⁰ With Taylor to supply the manufactured products of the outside world, and the firm of Shepherd Brown and Company to care for the agricultural products coming down the river, his warehouses must have presented a picture of great activity as the trade of the port expanded under the stimulus of prospective American occupation. McDonogh was now prepared to take his place as one of the leading commission merchants of New Orleans.

Taylor hoped to recoup his former losses in the trade with the transfer of Louisiana to the United States. In October, 1803, he notified McDonogh that the American government would take effect at New Orleans in the near future, and presented his plan to profit from the changes in tariff schedules which the transfer would necessitate. The brig *Venilia* was on her way with a load of salt, which Taylor had obtained cheaply, considering the fact that he had received a drawback on the tariff when the ship left the United States for what was technically still a foreign port. McDonogh was instructed to store the cargo until American duties took effect in New Orleans, at which time it would yield a handsome profit.⁶¹ He also expected duties on imports from New Orleans to cease in a short time, and hoped to realize a small fortune by purchasing sugar and molasses in Louisiana while the tariff remained, holding them until the tariff was removed, and then shipping cargoes to the American market without the necessity of paying duties. Throughout the month of December, 1803, he was writing about the "immense profits" to be made by saving the tariff, and instructed McDonogh in the matter of planning shipping schedules to take advantage of the change in duties when it should come. Taylor wanted all his property invested in sugar and molasses, and had persuaded R. D.

⁵⁹ John McDonogh, Sr., to McDonogh, August 19, 1803, *ibid.*

⁶⁰ Accounts of sales in 1803 and 1804, *ibid.*

⁶¹ William Taylor to John McDonogh Jr. and Company, October 21, 1803, in Howard Collection.

Shepherd that he should go to New Orleans and follow the same plan for himself. So certain was he of the success of the scheme that he invited McDonogh to follow the same course, and offered his help if the plan appealed.⁶²

William Taylor's change of attitude and obvious desire to continue business relations with McDonogh were no more ardent than similar sentiments on the part of his brother John. As previously suggested, John had been compelled to suspend payments until November, 1803, at which time he apparently was still unable to meet all his obligations and gave notes to some of his creditors to fall due in 1804. His long-threatened arrival at New Orleans occurred either late in 1803 or early in 1804, although his prospects had already greatly improved.⁶³ His visit there brought a compound of revelation and almost spiritual conversion, as the tone of his letters to McDonogh on his way home indicated. On February 17, 1804, shortly after his departure from New Orleans, he wrote McDonogh from New Providence in the West Indies and made acknowledgment of his attitude. McDonogh's letters of introduction at that port had proved extremely helpful, and the wine and other delicacies, which had thoughtfully been provided, had added to the pleasure of the trip. "May Heaven bless and prosper you always. . . . And let the past be forgotten." John was determined to clear \$100,000 within five years, and invited McDonogh to share his plans by starting an immediate shipment of 3,000 barrels of flour to England on the joint account of the two.⁶⁴ Such vindication must have been pleasing to McDonogh, but he apparently had all that he wanted of changes from threats of violence to expressions of esteem. His connections with John Taylor virtually ceased after the New Orleans visit, and that in spite of the fact that the latter rapidly recovered his financial position in England.

The year 1803 had brought a great increase in the Mississippi River trade, shipments to the partners coming from Virginia, Kentucky, Penn-

⁶² *Id. to id.*, December 4, 18, 1803, *ibid.*

⁶³ Ashfield to *id.*, March 26, 1804, in Tulane A Series.

⁶⁴ John Taylor to McDonogh, February 17, 1804, *ibid.*

sylvania, and Ohio. During the next few years the trade in that direction continued with increasing volume and Shepherd Brown and Company handled a varied assortment of produce—cotton, flour, deerskins, deerhorns, bacon, lard, whiskey, hemp, pork, beef, meal, onions, wheat, and lead.⁶⁵

The prospects of American occupation of New Orleans attracted many new merchants. R. D. Shepherd had tried occasional ventures to that port, but it was not until after his visit in the summer of 1803 that he seems to have turned his major attention to New Orleans. After his return to Baltimore in August he tried several ventures in the trade, and indicated his intention of coming out in person.⁶⁶ During the winter he developed his plans to buy sugar and molasses in order to profit from tariff changes, and early in 1804 transferred his residence to New Orleans.⁶⁷

The gradual expansion of McDonogh's business beyond that offered by William Taylor and his immediate associates was hastened by the increasing trade of the port and the arrival of new men. Boston traders arriving to open business carried letters of introduction to him,⁶⁸ and commission houses in the West Indies, England, and France asked to handle his shipments.⁶⁹

The year 1804 saw the peak of McDonogh's activities as a merchant. The acceleration of trade which had set in during the summer of 1803 continued unabated, and he and Brown obtained their share. Old customers continued their patronage, as did John McKim of Baltimore, who instructed them to purchase 100,000 pounds of cotton on his account, and also to straighten out his affairs with another New Orleans

⁶⁵ See Alexander Meek to Shepherd Brown and Company, April 10, 1803; Jesse Robard to *id.*, June 3, 1803; J. and M. Nimmo to *id.*, June 19, 1804, in Howard Collection; James N. Reynolds to *id.*, November 25, 1803; Rawley Evans to *id.*, November 7, 1804, in Tulane A Series.

⁶⁶ Shepherd to John McDonogh Jr. and Company, August 18, 1803, in Tulane A Series.

⁶⁷ William Taylor to McDonogh, January 8, 1804, in Howard Collection.

⁶⁸ Forbes and Payne to *id.*, September 30, 1803, in Tulane A Series.

⁶⁹ Perrot and Lee of Bordeaux to *id.*, May 24, 1803, *ibid.*; J. Murdock of Havana to McDonogh and Company or Shepherd Brown and Company, August 10, 1803, in Howard Collection; Rathbone, Hughes and Duncan of Liverpool to McDonogh and Company, August 25, 1803, *ibid.*

concern which had failed to give the same satisfaction as Shepherd Brown and Company.⁷⁰ New names continued to be added to their list. In March, Charles Marr of Baltimore offered them a consignment of cutlery which he was importing directly from England.⁷¹ In July, Asahel Hussey of the same city sent 125 parasols, which he instructed them to return unless they could be sold for \$3.50 each.⁷²

The rapidity with which American business was expanding at New Orleans during the year is evident from the number of new ventures to that port by merchants from the eastern seaboard cities. In June, Jonathan Stevens of Portland, Maine, wrote that he was pleased with information which McDonogh had sent him about the prospects at New Orleans. He was completing a boat and expected to load it with from \$6,000 to \$9,000 worth of merchandise in the near future. McDonogh was asked to inform him at once as to the wisdom of the type of cargo he was contemplating, whether a return load of molasses would be available, and if it would be possible to draw on the New Orleans house or get advances on sales.⁷³ About the same time William Taylor wrote that John Palfrey was coming out on one of Taylor's boats to see the country, and was bringing a parcel of goods to pay expenses. McDonogh was requested to look after him when he arrived in port.⁷⁴ The prospects must have been satisfactory for within a year he was engaged in business with R. D. Shepherd and was caring for Taylor's business. Payson and Smith of Baltimore had a similar request to make. Josiah Crosley had served his time as an apprentice with them and was anxious to get started for himself. In company with another concern they had loaded the schooner *Sally* with flour and dry goods and consigned her to Crosley at New Orleans. Both houses wanted information on the trade at that port. They hoped that the venture would give Crosley a start in New Orleans and indicate their prospects for breaking into the

⁷⁰ McKim to Shepherd Brown and Company, April 12, 1804, in Howard Collection.

⁷¹ Charles Marr to John McDonogh Jr. and Company, March 1, 1804, *ibid.*

⁷² Asahel Hussey to Shepherd Brown and Company, July 12, 1804, in Tulane A Series.

⁷³ Jonathan Stevens to John McDonogh Jr. and Company, June 15, 1804, *ibid.*

⁷⁴ William Taylor to *id.*, June 17, 1804, in Howard Collection.

trade as well. As Crosley was unacquainted with conditions there, however, they were anxious for McDonogh to advise him.⁷⁵

The partners were also frequently called upon by merchants of other cities to handle difficult business problems for them. A request for aid from a house in Portland, Maine, in February, 1804, offers an excellent illustration of the fact that the European war created problems as well as opportunities for American merchants, and demonstrates again the nature of business in the days of mercantile capitalism. The commission firm of Hannay and Logan at Liverpool had consigned a vessel belonging to the Portland concern, the *Amphion*, to McDonogh at New Orleans. The owners suggested any number of alternative schemes for the future course of the ship, but had to leave the final decision to McDonogh's judgment. Since much of the Continent was blockaded, they thought it would be necessary to get a return voyage to an English port. If cotton and logwood were available in New Orleans, they preferred that the returns from the voyage out to New Orleans be invested in these and the vessel consigned back to Hannay and Logan. If McDonogh found it advisable to consign the ship to a port where exchange on England would bring a loss, he was given permission to buy such items as seemed "best," although the owners preferred that the vessel proceed to some northern port. If freight could not be obtained in New Orleans, the *Amphion* might be routed to the West Indies, Charleston, or Savannah. As a last recourse the captain might be given \$1,200 to purchase a load of salt, and the remainder of the funds sent to Portland.⁷⁶ Mercantile capitalism was primarily "swapping" on a grand scale, and the problem presented to McDonogh in this particular case indicates the responsibilities which agents often were given.

An equally involved problem, although of less financial importance, was submitted to McDonogh in July. Almost four years previously, William Hand of New London, probably in Connecticut, had placed several casks of nails with William Rodman of New York, who was

⁷⁵ Payson and Smith to Shepherd Brown and Company, May 8, 1804, in Tulane A Series.

⁷⁶ [Stevens and Cadmas?] to John McDonogh Jr. and Company, February 4, 1804, in Howard Collection.

preparing a venture to New Orleans. Rodman had returned after seven months in that port, having sold only a small part of the nails, and those for credit. The remainder had been left with a commission house in New Orleans, which made only limited sales in the intervening three years and most of those on time. At one stage of the proceedings Hand's agents held a mortgage on a Negress as security for sales completed. Finally, despairing of getting his venture settled through the channels he had originally selected, Hand asked McDonogh to take power of attorney, collect for the goods sold, and to sell at auction or return to New York the rest of the cargo.⁷⁷

Still another problem, typical again of the days of mercantile capitalism, was presented to the partners early in 1805. A Maryland firm in February, 1804, had entrusted a peddler with some \$700 worth of merchandise to sell in the back country of Virginia. The items had been advanced at wholesale prices, and the profits from sales were to be divided equally, the understanding being that all sales were to be closed within six months. The peddler had kept to his bargain in the early stages of his trip westward, but had finally dropped from sight, leaving his backers out almost \$300 on the venture. They had heard, however, that he had gone to the headwaters of the Ohio River to purchase flour for a New Orleans venture. McDonogh was asked to be on the lookout for him and to take over any property he might have when he reached that port, but was instructed not to jail him, the merchants having decided in their disillusionment that such procedure would simply add to their losses without accomplishing any good.⁷⁸

The expansion of the trading activities of McDonogh and Brown ultimately involved them in new trouble with William Taylor, and, although all parties to the arrangement were now profiting to a greater extent than ever before, a breach developed in the fall of 1804. The immediate occasion for the quarrel was Taylor's discovery that the New Orleans agents were shipping sugar to other eastern houses. They had

⁷⁷ William Hand to *id.*, July 5, 1804, *ibid.*

⁷⁸ Graham and Isaac Shriver to Shepherd Brown and Company, February 1, 1805, in Tulane A Series.

consigned a quantity to Forbes and Payne in New York in May, and had attempted to purchase German goods through the same firm in June.⁷⁹ As Taylor had been counting heavily on operations in sugar to restore the losses which he had suffered at an earlier period in the New Orleans trade, he considered himself entitled to handle all the sugar which passed through the hands of McDonogh and Brown.

The quarrel was brewing as early as January, when Taylor became very much upset over McDonogh's indifference to his offer to support the New Orleans house in heavy speculations in sugar. McDonogh seems to have considered Taylor's scheme not altogether practical, a reflection on the judgment of the older man which did not please him. He was obviously angry at the information that McDonogh and Brown had a sufficient command of money without relying on him, although he limited himself to the comment that he had shown them more consideration than they had returned. R. D. Shepherd was coming out to New Orleans with a supply of goods, and Taylor expected him to purchase sugar, as well as consult with McDonogh and Brown over the best means of disposing of some of Taylor's shipments already in that port. As yet, however, Taylor had expressed no intention of severing his connections with McDonogh, and the letter also contained instructions for loading one of Taylor's ships.⁸⁰

Relations continued on that basis until late in the summer. Taylor urged McDonogh to buy sugar whenever possible, as the removal of the American tariff would provide excellent profits, and a number of shipments were sent to him from New Orleans. With most of these he was pleased, although he frequently advised McDonogh to exercise greater caution in checking the quality of purchases and to get his cargoes to Baltimore ahead of the crop of the West Indies.⁸¹ In return, Taylor sent dry goods and other items for McDonogh's disposal, and

⁷⁹ Forbes and Payne to *id.*, May 11, 18, 1804; Grant Forbes and Company to *id.*, June 4, 1804, *ibid.*

⁸⁰ William Taylor to John McDonogh Jr. and Company, January 8, 1804, in Howard Collection.

⁸¹ *Id.* to *id.*, January 22, March 25, April 1, 8, 1804, *ibid.*; *id.* to *id.*, February 19, 1804, in Tulane A Series.

must also have kept that individual reasonably busy caring for the dispatch of ships which the Baltimorean was operating in the trade.⁸²

There were some disquieting signs, however. In April, Taylor was afraid that McDonogh and Brown were too busily engaged in other activities to expedite his sales,⁸³ and in June he stated that he had paid out almost \$60,000 for them, whereas their shipments at the time were only \$25,000.⁸⁴ By August he had more serious objections to make. McDonogh and Brown were still drawing heavily on him and he had learned that they were shipping sugar to other ports. The partners were asked to check their correspondence with him to see if they were not bound to ship all their cargoes to his house.⁸⁵

The rapidity with which events now moved indicates that both sides to the dispute considered themselves grievously wronged. Taylor's next letter indicated that he was consigning goods to Palfrey, whom he had sent to New Orleans in the spring, and that he desired to close his venture with McDonogh and Brown before he made any more consignments. Only in the case that neither Palfrey nor Shepherd were in New Orleans were his old agents to open and sell the goods.⁸⁶ Relations among the four men whom Taylor had helped to establish in New Orleans were not affected by the growing dispute, and they seem to have spent considerable time in consultation as soon as it became evident that Taylor was determined to compel McDonogh and Brown to ship sugar to him alone.

McDonogh and Brown decided to surrender their agreement to represent Taylor in New Orleans to Palfrey and Shepherd, if Shepherd could make the necessary arrangements with Taylor. The Baltimore merchant was obviously taken by surprise, but on September 15 suggested that McDonogh close out sales of all goods owned by Taylor and return any that would not immediately sell.⁸⁷ Taylor's anger over

⁸² *Id.* to *id.*, May 6, 1804, in Tulane A Series.

⁸³ *Id.* to *id.*, April 8, 1804, in Howard Collection.

⁸⁴ *Id.* to *id.*, June 3, 1804, in Tulane A Series.

⁸⁵ *Id.* to *id.*, August 5, 1804, *ibid.*

⁸⁶ *Id.* to *id.*, August 25, 1804, *ibid.*

⁸⁷ *Id.* to *id.*, September 15, 1804, *ibid.*

the change, however, was evident from rather bitter letters that passed between him and McDonogh as late as October.⁸⁸

The break had been made, however, and by December the firm of Palfrey, Shepherd and Company was in operation. McDonogh and Brown gave the partners all the help possible, and the friendship of the New Orleans men, which had never slackened during the change in arrangements, soon extended again to relations between Taylor and McDonogh. The affairs of the latter two had been so involved that final delivery of the last of Taylor's goods to Palfrey and Shepherd was not completed until December of 1805, and even then part of the accounts remained uncollected.⁸⁹

McDonogh's first biographer, William Allan, has placed the date of his retirement from merchandising as 1806, and subsequent writers have tended to follow the same chronology. The date has been based on a letter from McDonogh's father in February of that year asking John's advice as to the choice of a career for a younger brother, James, since John no longer was engaged in merchandising and could not take him as an apprentice.⁹⁰ It is evident from the McDonogh manuscripts that John's interest in land speculation attracted more and more of his time after his break with William Taylor in the fall of 1804. McDonogh did not immediately abandon the mercantile trade at that time, however, nor had he completely done so in 1806. Even as late as 1813 he received occasional requests from eastern merchants asking him to handle business for them.⁹¹ His relations with the new firm of Palfrey, Shepherd and Company indicate that he was willing for them to take over more than Taylor's business. Furthermore, he and Brown had begun to curtail the activities of Shepherd Brown and Company in the

⁸⁸ *Id.* to *id.*, September 23, October 28, 1804, *ibid.*

⁸⁹ *Id.* to *id.*, December 2, 1804; *id.* to McDonogh, November 24, December 2, 3, 1805, *ibid.*

⁹⁰ Allan, *Life and Work of John McDonogh*, 20; John McDonogh, Sr., to McDonogh, February 6, 1806, in Tulane B Series.

⁹¹ William Steele to John McDonogh Jr. and Company, August 16, 1813, in Howard Collection.

produce trade by February, 1805, within three months after the abandonment of Taylor's agency. On February 11 Berry Searcy wrote to "Shepherd Brown and Company or John Palfrey and Company" from Franklin County, Kentucky, and expressed his sorrow at the news of Shepherd Brown's retirement from business because of ill health.⁹² Searcy was planning to send a shipment of wheat to the new concern recommended by Brown, Palfrey's organization, a clear indication of the withdrawal of McDonogh and Brown in that region as well. Widespread business connections could not be terminated immediately, however, and letters connected with mercantile matters remained a large part of McDonogh's correspondence as late as the summer of 1806.

The shift from merchandising by McDonogh and Brown just at the time that they were getting thoroughly acquainted with traders in other sections of the world, and after their business had made such progress in the general recovery after the summer of 1803, may have been hastened by their troubles with Taylor in the winter of 1804. The criticism to which McDonogh had been subjected by the Taylors in 1802 must have been fresh in mind, and the fact that they had finally recognized the unfairness of their attitude in the first instance probably made him more reluctant to forgive William's return to lecturing him at a time when all parties were prospering. It would have been an easy matter to establish a working agreement with some other eastern merchant, however, had McDonogh desired to continue mercantile operations. Taylor himself would have been glad to revive the old arrangement,⁹³ and commission houses in Philadelphia and New York were happy to obtain shipments of sugar from McDonogh and Brown in 1805 and 1806.⁹⁴ The disagreement of 1804 simply offered a point of departure from the old course. Nor did Brown's illness make it necessary to abandon the upriver trade. McDonogh could have handled that business

⁹² Berry Searcy to Shepherd Brown and Company or John Palfrey and Company, February 11, 1805, in Tulane A Series.

⁹³ William Taylor to John McDonogh Jr. and Company, February 10, 1805, in Howard Collection.

⁹⁴ J. A. Buckley to Shepherd Brown and Company, April 6, 1805, *ibid.*; Chandler Price to *id.*, April 28, 1806, in Tulane A Series.

himself until Brown recovered and resumed his duties in the organization, which he seems to have done within a very short time.

The fundamental reason for the change grew out of an increasing interest in land speculation on the part of McDonogh and Brown, and, like a more famous merchant of the period, John Jacob Astor, they ultimately chose real estate over trade as their field of endeavor. Some of the factors which contributed to the choice are evident in the records of the firm. McDonogh always expressed a very high regard for his father's judgment, and as early as the spring of 1803 that individual had recommended investments in land.⁹⁵ The start seems to have been made within the year, and almost from the first promised to prove profitable. Taylor himself wanted to invest during the spring of 1804, at the very time he was feverishly engaged in speculations in sugar, and was very much hurt because McDonogh refused his request.⁹⁶ At the time McDonogh and Brown had just purchased one-half interest in 120,000 arpents of land from Geronimo Lachiapella, which he had obtained through the Spanish Intendant at New Orleans. By January, 1806, the partners had obtained possession of the whole.⁹⁷ McDonogh hoped to attract German immigrants to his holdings, and in the latter part of 1805 attempted to effect a working arrangement with the firm of Godfrey Haga at Philadelphia, through which a good many Germans were migrating to the New World.⁹⁸ Although he failed to get the Germans who were coming in that year, the low cost of his land offered every prospect of sales at a profit.

In contrast to such opportunities McDonogh must have placed his own experience and success as a trader. Within a period of four years he had moved from a position which promised great rewards to one in which he stood a fair chance to lose all, and then back again to real

⁹⁵ John McDonogh, Sr., to McDonogh, May 18, 1803, in Tulane B Series.

⁹⁶ William Taylor to John McDonogh Jr. and Company, May 13, 1804, in Howard Collection.

⁹⁷ Memorandum in Tulane B Series.

⁹⁸ Godfrey Haga to John McDonogh Jr. and Company or Shepherd Brown and Company, January 12, 1806, in Tulane A Series.

prosperity. On the basis of his experience as a trader, it is easy to understand why McDonogh preferred to change to real estate.

Since he and Brown withdrew from merchandising as rapidly as possible, their operations in that field after 1805 offer nothing of significance in the interpretation or development of mercantile capitalism. McDonogh continued his support of Palfrey and Shepherd, and later backed Shepherd in forming the firm of R. D. Shepherd and Company.⁹⁹ Although motivated in part by friendship in taking such action, McDonogh profited by marketing his crops through Shepherd and the consequent privilege of drawing against that firm for funds.¹⁰⁰

The growing success of his real-estate ventures undoubtedly convinced him that his choice of activity had been wise. If he needed additional proof, however, the later career of William Taylor offered it. From a position of affluence, built up in the years immediately following the acquisition of Louisiana, Taylor rapidly descended again to a state of financial embarrassment. McDonogh gave the old man financial backing at times in his effort to re-establish himself, and wrote an occasional letter of encouragement to bolster Taylor's depressed state of mind while he was going through bankruptcy in 1817.¹⁰¹ His attempts to extend reasonable aid to Taylor did not keep that individual from complaining of neglect, however, and from hinting that McDonogh might bolster Taylor's tottering commercial structure by throwing the whole of his financial resources behind it. Taylor's losses had convinced him that McDonogh should give up all business activities, invest his considerable fortune in safe fields, and prepare to lead the life of a "private gentleman." McDonogh had already embarked on his fanatical quest for money to support the education of the American people, however, and as the steward of the Lord's property gave no consid-

⁹⁹ William Thompson to McDonogh, August 25, 1809, *ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ Shepherd to *id.*, January 15, 1814, in Howard Collection; statement of settlement of accounts with R. D. Shepherd and Company, May 15, 1818, in Tulane B Series.

¹⁰¹ William Taylor to McDonogh, December 8, 1809; March 14, 24, August 31, December 22, 1810; July 25, 1816; March 28, May 15, August 26, November 20, 1817, in Tulane A Series.

eration to the suggestion. The difference in point of view did not prevent McDonogh from inviting Taylor to come to New Orleans to live, and the record of the relationship between the two closes fittingly, so far as the McDonogh manuscripts reveal it, with a letter from the aging and bankrupt Taylor on New Year's day of 1818, reporting that he had been delayed at the mouth of the Mississippi by contrary winds, but would be in New Orleans shortly.¹⁰²

¹⁰² *Id.* to *id.*, January 1, 1818, *ibid.*

Henry A. Wise, A Liberal of the Old South

BY CLEMENT EATON

On October 9, 1841, Henry A. Wise was haranguing a crowd before the tavern of Pungoteage on the Eastern Shore of Virginia. Among his listeners was a young northern schoolteacher who has left a record of his impressions of the fiery southern leader.

Mr. Wise's personal appearance is anything but prepossessing [he noted]. He is tall and very spare. His mouth is very wide, his hair light, and grown very long. He is as plain a man as I ever saw. His forehead is rather low but quite wide, and prominent.—He speaks very fluently and when he gets interested he is certainly eloquent. He then speaks exceedingly loud and twists his face into all kinds of shapes. The blood rushes to his face, and he has the appearance of a man who is strangling.¹

On this occasion Wise bitterly castigated the abolitionists, holding up before the audience a copy of the *Emancipator*, which he said he read regularly, for the purpose of showing them the wickedness of northern fanatics.²

Such scenes as this were frequent in Wise's career, for he was an ardent defender of southern rights. It was this tall, dynamic Virginian, with flowing locks of blond hair, who led the southern congressmen from the halls of the Capitol when the Vermonter, William Slade, criticized southern slavery. As the sectional controversy continued to grow in intensity, Wise advanced to bolder and more extreme positions

¹ Journal of J. Milton Emerson (MS. in Duke University Library), October 9, 1841, p. 37.

² *Ibid.*, 36. Emerson observed, "The people seemed highly pleased at his remarks, and laughed heartily at some of the anecdotes which he told. He has no opposition in this district. Almost all vote for Wise. Whatever he is, the people are. He is not governed by his constituents, but his constituents by him."

until he rattled the saber of defiance against the North.³ "I will not submit to Lincoln's election," he wrote in the autumn of 1860 to Caleb Cushing, "if I can get a single State to throw over me her egis [*sic*]. It is war—I fight."⁴

Certainly, on sectional questions, Wise must be classed with the fire-eaters rather than with the liberals. The concept of liberalism in politics involves a fine sense of balance. On the one hand, the liberal is an advocate of genuinely democratic government. Measured by this yardstick, Wise was one of the most enlightened leaders of the Upper South, a true disciple of Thomas Jefferson. But liberalism has an obverse side, which Jefferson clearly understood, but which Wise and most of the leaders of his section failed to appreciate, the necessity of intellectual as well as political liberty in a healthy, dynamic society. Often the liberal has to make a courageous stand against a triumphant and selfish majority who would destroy the rights of the minority, especially their civil rights. While Wise was fighting ardently for the minority rights of his section within the nation, he was intolerant of the opinions of antislavery reformers both inside and outside the borders of the South. Precisely because of this agreement with the majority of Southerners on the all-important slavery issue, he was able to urge many local reforms more effectively and to wield great political influence in the South. Thus he escaped the fate of most southern liberals, who were lonely and isolated individuals, without a following.

Even in regard to slavery, however, Wise showed some liberal tendencies. While he was a young lawyer in Nashville, Tennessee, in 1830, he was chosen for the office of secretary of the Tennessee Colonization Society.⁵ Later, during the years he served as minister to Brazil, he waged a violent fight against the African slave trade. At Rio de Janeiro he discovered that American vessels were being used in trans-

³ See Clement Eaton, "Henry A. Wise and the Virginia Fire Eaters of 1856," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (Cedar Rapids, 1914-), XXI (1934-1935), 495-512.

⁴ Wise to Caleb Cushing, October 13, 1860, in Caleb Cushing MSS. (Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress). Cushing acted as best man for Wise at the latter's third marriage in 1853.

⁵ Barton H. Wise, *The Life of Henry A. Wise of Virginia, 1806-1876* (New York, 1899), 29.

porting slaves from Africa to Brazil and that "they carry the arms and ardent spirits which are the hellish agents and instruments of the savage wars of African captivity."⁶ Not only did the Brazilian government connive at this illegal trade, but Wise believed that the United States consuls in Brazil also befriended American citizens who engaged in this inhuman traffic.⁷

In his endeavors to suppress the participation of Americans in the slave trade, Wise was overzealous, violating the sovereignty of Brazil, threatening the Consul at Rio de Janeiro, George W. Gordon, and acting in a highhanded manner "calculated to reduce the Consulate to a mere clerkship; or sub-office to the Legation."⁸ Something of the animus of Wise in his crusade to stop this abuse is revealed as he declaimed to Gordon:

but it is too true and notorious that the U. States vessels and flag are used and abused, prostituted, I ought to say, to this odious traffic; and it is my duty and purpose to exert every means in my power, and to stimulate by every mode all the consuls and agents of the U. States in Brazil to aid in the effort to arrest and punish participation in its crimes by citizens of the U. States, and to wipe out the foul stain from our country's flag of being its chief protection and safe conduct.⁹

These strenuous efforts of Wise to prevent the use of the American flag and American vessels in the African slave trade were doubtless accentuated by the fact that the principal offenders were Northerners. In a letter to a fellow Virginian, he declared that the slave traders of the North had tried to prejudice Secretary James Buchanan against him. "I have exposed their abominable traffic here," he wrote, "and have severely shocked its profits, if not its existence. Out of twenty-two vessels of our merchant marine engaged in the African trade between 'the coast' and Brazil since June 1845, but four hail south of Phila-

⁶ Wise to John C. Calhoun, Secretary of State, February 18, 1845, in Henry A. Wise Despatches, Brazil XIII (The National Archives). This letter of sixty-one manuscript pages gives a detailed account of the American participation in the slave trade.

⁷ *Id.* to George W. Gordon, April 9, 1845, in George W. Gordon MSS. (Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress).

⁸ Gordon to James Buchanan, Secretary of State, June 2, 1845, *ibid.*

⁹ Wise to Gordon, October 25, 1844, *ibid.*

delphia—and they were from Baltimore.”¹⁰ Wise’s intemperate and undiplomatic efforts to stop this evil were a principal cause why the Brazilian court asked that he be recalled.¹¹ The United States government refused to accede to this request, but Wise realized that he was *persona non grata* to the Brazilian court and decided to return home.¹²

One of the great objectives of southern liberals was the education of the yeomanry and the poor whites, a cause in which Wise fought courageously and energetically. In 1844, shortly before he left for Brazil, he addressed the constituents of his congressional district, urging them to establish free schools. He pointed out the appalling fact that one fourth of the free white adults of his district, consisting of twelve counties, could not read, a larger number than voted.¹³ He condemned the Virginia school system, by which the parents of a poor child had to make a declaration of poverty before the child’s tuition could be paid by the state. In such a system the poor child was humbled in comparison with the majority of children whose parents paid their tuition. “Common school education,” he declared, “should not be a State charity, but it should be the chief element of the freedom of the State.—There should be no distinction between the children of a republic. They are not in the school sense the children of their parents, but the State is *parens patriae*, and they should be regarded as the sons and daughters of Mother Commonwealth.”¹⁴ He proposed, therefore, that the board of education in each county should not only levy taxes sufficient to educate every child between seven and fifteen years of age, but should also have the power to fine parents who did not send their children to school. Recognizing that this was a bold and drastic proposal, he tried to persuade all classes that ignorance destroyed the equality of citizens.

¹⁰ *Id.* to Robert J. Poulson, March 15, 1846 (MS. in Confederate Museum, Richmond, Virginia).

¹¹ William R. Manning (ed.), *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States, Inter-American Affairs, 1831-1860*, 12 vols. (Washington, 1932-1939), II (*Bolivia and Brazil*), 369-70.

¹² John Bassett Moore (ed.), *The Works of James Buchanan*, 12 vols. (Philadelphia, 1908-1911), VII, 260-65, 333-34, 460.

¹³ *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1899-1900*, 2 vols. (Washington, 1901), I, 398. The date of this speech is erroneously given as 1856.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 399.

With consummate skill he appealed to those illiterate voters who had no use for "book learning" by comparing education to a handspike, which they all valued at a logrolling or a house-raising.¹⁵

When Wise became governor in 1856, he criticized the educational system of the state because it did not provide for the training of teachers, and because it continued the feature of charity instruction. "The pride of our people," he observed, "withholds thousands of our poor children from the *charity* of schools, even for the 53 days of time per annum & for the pittance of the cost of \$2.57 per capita for the 53 days of time; whilst a sound republican *community* of instruction among children of all classes would make all equally beneficiaries of public aid to instruction."¹⁶ His proposals show that he was influenced greatly by the educational ideas of Jefferson. He recommended that the state should be divided into 375 academy districts and into 13 male college districts, to which the government should contribute funds. The state owed a duty to provide opportunities for the children of the poor, not merely to acquire a knowledge of reading and writing, but "to taste of the more delicate food of the mind." In order to reform the educational system of Virginia, he selected President William A. Smith of Randolph-Macon College to make speeches throughout the state, as a sort of missionary, and to investigate conditions.¹⁷ Unfortunately, his choice was a poor one, for Dr. Smith was an ardent advocate of purging schoolbooks of any sentiments hostile to slavery.¹⁸

The results of this agitation of Wise and other educational liberals, such as Dr. Henry Ruffner, Moncure D. Conway, and Thomas Ritchie,

¹⁵ Concerning this address, a Whig critic wrote: "I listened to the reading of his farewell address to his Constituents [*sic*] which enhanced my opinion of his talents more than all else that ever emanated [*sic*] from his prolific brain. . . . It is unquestionably the tallest feather in his cap, and if his recommendations are attended with success must embalm his name among the greatest benefactors of Virginia." "Diary of a Northern Teacher in the South, 1843-1844" (Anonymous MS. in Duke University Library), 31-32.

¹⁶ Wise to Reverend W. A. Smith, December 9, 1856, in Letter Book of Governor Henry A. Wise, 1856-1860 (Virginia State Library, Richmond), 2.

¹⁷ New York *Daily Tribune*, May 23, 1857.

¹⁸ William A. Smith, *Lectures on the Philosophy and Practice of Slavery* (Nashville, 1856), 29.

were disheartening.¹⁹ In 1846 the Virginia legislature passed an act permitting counties to establish free common schools by local taxation, but only ten counties and three towns had the resolution to tax themselves for this purpose.²⁰ Samuel Janney, an eminent Virginia liberal of the ante-bellum period, explained this failure as follows: "The chief causes of its rejection in the other counties were the apathy and prejudice of the laboring classes, whom it was intended to benefit, and the jealousy of the slaveholders."²¹ Conway, who circulated at his own expense a pamphlet entitled *Free Schools in Virginia* in 1850, found his efforts futile. He later wrote: "But the social, physical and financial condition of Virginia was little comprehended by me, in my nineteenth year. There was little or no longing for education among the poor whites—probably more among the negroes. I was expecting echoes where there were no hills."²² Even so dynamic a leader as Wise was doomed to failure in bringing about a revolution in the attitude of the people toward free common schools. Public-school attendance increased slowly in Virginia, from 67,438 pupils in 1850 to 85,443 in 1860, or from a ratio of one child in public schools to every thirteen white persons in 1850 to a ratio of one child to every twelve persons in 1860.²³

Wise was more successful in accomplishing another reform to elevate the condition of the common man, namely, the democratizing of the Virginia constitution. In 1850 he was chosen as a delegate from tide-water Virginia to the constitutional convention that met in Richmond to revise the antiquated constitution.²⁴ It seems strange that in the over-

¹⁹ See Clement Eaton, *Freedom of Thought in the Old South* (Durham, 1940), Chap. III.

²⁰ Charles W. Dabney, *Universal Education in the South*, 2 vols. (Chapel Hill, 1936), I, 86-88; W. A. Maddox, *The Free School Idea in Virginia before the Civil War* (New York, 1918).

²¹ S. M. Janney, "Virginia, Her Past, Present, and Future," in *Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture for the Year 1864* (Washington, 1865), 40.

²² M. D. Conway, *Autobiography, Memories and Experiences*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1904), I, 85.

²³ *Seventh Census of the United States: 1850* (Washington, 1853), 265; *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860: Mortality and Miscellaneous Statistics* (Washington, 1866), 506.

²⁴ Virginia was one of the last southern states to democratize her constitution. See Fletcher M. Green, *Constitutional Development in the South Atlantic States, 1776-1860* (Chapel Hill, 1930), Chap. VII.

whelmingly agrarian society of Virginia ninety-seven of the one hundred and thirty-five delegates were lawyers.²⁵ Wise was one of the four delegates from the eastern counties who championed the white basis of representation in the legislature, a distinction which caused the Richmond *Whig* to dub him "the modern Jack Cade." In April, 1851, he spoke on this subject and other democratic reforms for five consecutive days in oratory so fascinating that the galleries were crowded with ladies, the aisles were filled with chairs, and gallant members of the convention surrendered their chairs to the fair sex. Wise was a great natural orator, who exercised a magician's power over southern audiences, but he was distrusted by nationalists like James Louis Petigru, who scornfully described him as "an orator like Wise who speaks from Monday morning till Saturday night."²⁶

It was apparent from the beginning of the convention that sectionalism was to dominate the discussions over the reform of the old constitution of 1830. Western Virginia, including the Shenandoah Valley, had nurtured a sullen resentment toward the slaveholding planters of the piedmont and the tidewater. Beyond the Blue Ridge there were few slaves, and, moreover, the western part of the state was isolated from eastern Virginia by the lack of internal improvements. The hardy yeomanry of the West, also, did not seek to follow the aristocratic pattern of the English country gentleman that was the ideal of the East, nor did these isolated farmers send many of their sons to the University of Virginia or William and Mary College.²⁷ Especially did they rankle with bitterness because the old constitution had apportioned representation in the legislature on a mixed basis of both white population and taxation, which gave the aristocratic East control of the legislature, despite a great preponderance of white population in the West.

Wise reduced the great issues before the convention to the test of economic realism. The slaveholding aristocracy, he observed, proposed

²⁵ Wise, *Life of Henry A. Wise*, 147.

²⁶ James L. Petigru to "Dear Cary," August 22, 1861, in James Louis Petigru MSS. (Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress).

²⁷ Charles H. Ambler, *Sectionalism in Virginia from 1776 to 1861* (Chicago, 1910), 282.

that the 898,000 white population of the state should have no more representation than \$495,000 worth of taxes, or, in other words, that a white person was equal only to 53 cents. Thus he proclaimed that the issue before the convention was made up of money versus men: "It is the right of the people against the right of money—Mammon against liberty—and may God in his mercy, help the people in this fight."²⁸

Although a delegate from Accomac County in the extreme eastern part of the state, Wise became the most prominent champion in the convention of the demands of the West and of white democracy. This enlightened advocate of the white basis of representation was not a wealthy man (in 1860 he owned only twenty-one slaves), but he belonged to a blue-blooded family.²⁹ It is difficult to explain his independence in rising above the viewpoint of his class other than on account of a genuine interest in democracy. "If there is anything in God Almighty's earth," he declared on the floor of the convention, "that stinks in the nostrils of my mind, as well as of my body, it is the monied aristocracy; and negroe [*sic*] aristocracy stinks worst of all."³⁰

The determination of the wealthier slaveowning East to prevent the adoption of the white basis of representation was primarily due to a fear that, if such a reform should be instituted, the West would use its numerical power to tax slaves excessively in order to provide funds for internal improvements. Wise warned his fellow Easterners, however, if they continued to deny to the West fair representation in the legislature because of selfish vested interests in slavery, the Westerners would hate slavery all the more, since it prevented their attainment of just representation and of internal improvements. Moreover, he maintained that Virginia needed to undertake a farsighted system of internal improvements. For seventy years, he exclaimed, the giant of the West

²⁸ "Virginia Reform Convention—Supplements to the *Enquirer*, *Whig*, *Times*, *Republican*, and *Republican Advocate*" (Virginia State Library), Supplement XIII (February 17, 1851).

²⁹ Wise, *Life of Henry A. Wise*, 263.

³⁰ "Virginia Reform Convention," Supplement XXIX (April 7, 1851).

had been held down by the myopic policy of the East. The tidewater area had been hoodwinked and exploited by an alliance with the piedmont, which enabled the latter to obtain \$1,300,000 appropriations for internal improvements while the tidewater got nominally \$27,000, although this region paid one third of the taxes.³¹ Wise urged that the hinterland of the West be connected with the eastern ports of Norfolk and Portsmouth by railroad and canal lines running to the Ohio River.

Despite his ardent advocacy of such democratic measures as manhood suffrage, white basis of representation, and election of the governor by the people, his views on taxation were conservative. He opposed the radical western demand for ad valorem taxation of slave property. He secured the adoption of an amendment that only a capitation tax should be paid on slaves between the ages of twelve and sixty. Thus there would be a limitation on the power of the West to plunder the East. Furthermore, he argued that all voters should feel the burdens of government and therefore that all free males twenty-one years old should pay a capitation tax equal to the tax levied upon \$300 worth of land.³² The final draft of the new constitution of Virginia contained most of the progressive ideas for which Wise had fought.

Wise's efforts to secure the democratic revision of the constitution won him the loyalty of the West and formed an important factor in his election as governor in 1855. This gubernatorial campaign throws a vivid light on both the strength and the limitations of Wise as a liberal. His opponent was Thomas S. Flournoy, the candidate of the Know-Nothings, a party which sought to restrict immigration, to increase the naturalization period to twenty-one years, and to prevent Catholics or foreign-born from holding office. Wise represented his foe as the party of abolition, since in New England some of the prominent leaders were antislavery men.³³ But he also bitterly attacked the

³¹ *Ibid.*, Supplement XXXVII (May 3, 1851).

³² "Virginia Constitutional Convention, 1850-1851, Debates and Proceedings, Issued as Supplements to Each of the Richmond Papers" (Photostatic copies in Virginia State Library), II, Supplements LXXVII, 2; LXXVIII, 3; LXXXIX, 4.

³³ This identification of the Know-Nothing party with abolition was greatly exploited by the Democratic newspapers. See editorials, "The New Ally of Abolition," in *Richmond Daily Enquirer*, January 18, 1855; "Propagating the Poison," *ibid.*, January 29, 1855; "Mr. Wise in Culpeper," *ibid.*, February 9, 1855.

Know-Nothing party on account of its secrecy and its religious intolerance. He pointed out the absurdity of fearing the Catholics and the foreign vote in Virginia, which had less than eight thousand Catholics and a ratio of one foreign-born to thirty-eight native-born inhabitants.³⁴ Declaring that he feared Protestant popes more than Catholic popes, he protested against "the contamination of our churches by contact with the worldly filth of politics and parties."³⁵ The very essence of Americanism, he affirmed, was freedom of opinion and liberty of conscience, which were opposed to the proscription of Catholics and the foreign-born.³⁶

Wise was elected governor by a ten-thousand majority, a victory that gave a decisive check to the invasion of the South by the American party. Although he had misrepresented the Know-Nothings, as a disguised abolition party,³⁷ he had rendered a service to liberalism by defeating a movement that was based on nativistic prejudice and religious intolerance. Moreover, in his campaign he had promised to give Virginia a progressive administration, to complete the noble plan of Jefferson for popular education, to finish Virginia's primary works of internal improvement, and to establish an Agricultural and Mechanical College. He rebuked his fellow Virginians for their obsession with Federal politics to the neglect of state concerns. He declared that "next to brandy, next to card playing, next to horse-racing, the thing that has done Virginia more harm than any other in the course of her past history has been her insatiable appetite for federal politics."³⁸ Thus Wise discussed state issues with his audiences and mixed with his soaring oratory a measure of realism and statesmanship rarely heard on the hustings of the Old South.

Wise's career as governor on the eve of the Civil War was marred,

³⁴ James P. Hambleton, *A Biographical Sketch of Henry A. Wise with a History of the Political Campaign in Virginia in 1855* (Richmond, 1856), 9.

³⁵ *Norfolk Daily Southern Argus*, March 15, 1855.

³⁶ Hambleton, *Biographical Sketch of Henry A. Wise*, 13-14.

³⁷ See an editorial by Vespasian Ellis in the *Washington American Organ*, May 24, 1855; and A. F. Robertson, *Alexander Hugh Holmes Stuart* (Richmond, 1925), 60.

³⁸ Hambleton, *Biographical Sketch of Henry A. Wise*, 99.

nevertheless, by his absorption in the sectional struggle. Like Calhoun, he tried to unite the South to resist the growing might of the North and the antislavery movement. In seeking to arouse the southern states against the menace of the Republican party, he called the unsuccessful Conference of Southern Governors at Raleigh in the autumn of 1856.³⁹ At the same time, he made formidable military preparations for resistance in case John C. Frémont won the presidential election, for he threatened a revolution if the flag of the Black Republicans should wave over the Capitol.⁴⁰ The John Brown invasion also gave him a superb opportunity to stir up prejudice against the North and to unite the South. The excitable Governor used this occasion to raise an excessive number of troops and to train the young men of the state for future emergencies.⁴¹ He was severely criticized by some of his political opponents for wasting the money of the state in needless military preparations, but among the masses he was raised to a momentary popularity by his vigorous and melodramatic handling of the affair.⁴² When he left the executive office in 1860, he boasted that Virginia had 85,000 stands of arms, 130 fieldpieces, and \$30,000 worth of Colt revolving arms.⁴³

Wise had the courage of his convictions, an attribute of the true liberal. When Eli Thayer established his colony of northern settlers at Ceredo in western Virginia, some of the fire-eating newspapers denounced "the Vandal Invasion of Virginia."⁴⁴ But Governor Wise de-

³⁹ Letter Book of the Executives of Virginia, 1846-1856 (Virginia State Library), XXVI, 343.

⁴⁰ Wise to Lieutenant Henry A. Wise, September 16, 19, October 16, 1856, in Wise MSS. (Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress); Virginia Mason, *The Public Life and Diplomatic Correspondence of James M. Mason* (Roanoke, Va., 1903), 117-18.

⁴¹ The Papers of Governor Wise for 1859-1860, in Executive Papers of Virginia (Virginia State Library), contain an extensive collection of letters, "In Re John Brown," which tremendously exaggerate the dangers to be apprehended from invasion by northern abolitionists. See also, Oswald Garrison Villard, *John Brown, 1800-1859* (Boston, 1910).

⁴² Diary of Edmund Ruffin, 1856-1865, 25 vols. (MS. in Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress), III, 64-65; James A. Seddon to R. M. T. Hunter, December 26, 1859, in Charles H. Ambler (ed.), *Correspondence of Robert M. T. Hunter, 1826-1876*, in American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1916, II (Washington, 1918), 281-82.

⁴³ Henry A. Wise, *Seven Decades of the Union* (Philadelphia, 1881), 250.

⁴⁴ For a discussion of this immigration into Virginia, see Clement Eaton, "The Resis-

clared that he welcomed such thrifty citizens, provided they kept the laws and did not try to disturb slave property, for the state needed immigration to develop its exhausted tobacco lands.⁴⁵ His ability to rise, upon occasions, above partisanship and sectional prejudice was also demonstrated by his opposition to the plan to force the discreditable Lecompton constitution upon Kansas.⁴⁶ He thus incurred the wrath of President Buchanan and the southern fire-eaters. A sincere devotion to democracy, nevertheless, caused him to denounce this conspiracy of Democratic politicians to defeat the will of the people of Kansas, even though the victory of the Lecompton constitution would favor the pro-slavery cause.

Wise's magnificent energy which should have been devoted to state affairs was largely dissipated in the sectional controversy and in the advancement of his political ambitions.⁴⁷ Consequently he did not actually carry out many progressive reforms during his four years of office. In his first message to the legislature, he boldly urged greater taxation as a means of keeping up the credit of Virginia and prosecuting its internal improvements. He declared that the citizens of Virginia paid 100 per cent less taxes than they should, and he recommended that the state raise revenue by taxing oysters gathered on Virginia shores.⁴⁸ He was ahead of his time in proposing that the state establish an insurance business that would insure "Wheat in the garner, crops in the field, as well as houses."⁴⁹ One of his most cherished plans was to tap the Ohio Valley by completing the James River and Kan-

tance of the South to Northern Radicalism," in *New England Quarterly* (Baltimore, etc., 1928-), VIII (1935), 227-28.

⁴⁵ Wise to Albert G. Jenkins, August 24, 1857, in *Letter Book of Governor Henry A. Wise*, 1856-1860, pp. 101-102.

⁴⁶ *Id.* to David Hubbard, March 3, 1859, in Wise MSS. (Duke University Library); Wise to a Committee of Democrats of Philadelphia, February 6, 1868, in Wise MSS. (Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress).

⁴⁷ Wise aspired to be elected senator and also to secure the Democratic nomination for president. See Ambler (ed.), *Correspondence of Robert M. T. Hunter*, *passim*; Philip C. Auchampaugh, *Robert Tyler, Southern Rights Champion* (Duluth, 1934), *passim*; Lyon G. Tyler, *The Letters and Times of the Tylers*, 3 vols. (Richmond, 1884-1890), II, *passim*.

⁴⁸ Message of Governor Wise to the Senate and House of Delegates of the State of Virginia, February 11, 1856, pp. 2-3, MS. in Executive Papers of Virginia.

⁴⁹ Wise, *Life of Henry A. Wise*, 224.

awha Canal and the Covington and Ohio Railroad. Large appropriations were made by the legislature for this purpose, but the Civil War found them uncompleted. Wise's pipe dreams of building up great marts of trade in Virginia by direct steamship lines to Europe were also unrealized. A promising negotiation with French capitalists to establish a direct steamship line with Norfolk was interrupted by the secession movement.⁵⁰

The tragedy of Wise, and of many other brave southern leaders, was that his splendid energies were deflected from the true path of liberalism, social reform, into a defense of his section. Horace Greeley recognized the Virginia statesman as a man of great promise, whose election to the governorship would put an end to the reign of mediocrity in important stations, infuse new blood into the veins of old Virginia, and check the emigration of her young men to the West. "His election," he wrote, "will be worth more to Virginia than the annexation of half a dozen Cubas."⁵¹ But this promise was blighted by the absorption of the fiery Governor in the sectional struggle.⁵² He became the Danton of the secession movement in Virginia, whose incandescent oratory played an important part in sweeping Virginia into revolution.⁵³ His career as governor might well be compared to that of a later Virginian, Woodrow Wilson—liberal beginnings crushed in a war atmosphere. Despite his surrender to the strong drift of his section toward secession and war, Henry A. Wise rendered great services to the cause of liberalism in the South by his championship of *white* democracy and the education of the masses.

⁵⁰ Ambler, *Sectionalism in Virginia*, 316-19.

⁵¹ *New York Daily Tribune*, August 29, 1854.

⁵² In 1856, for example, his chief interest seems to have been centered on defeating John C. Frémont for president and delivering the vote of Virginia to Buchanan. Wise to Buchanan, June 26, July 6, 1856, in James Buchanan Papers (Pennsylvania Historical Society Library, Philadelphia).

⁵³ Howard Swiggett (ed.), J. B. Jones, *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary at the Confederate States Capital*, 2 vols. (New York, 1935), I, 23; Henry T. Shanks, *The Secession Movement in Virginia, 1847-1861* (Richmond, 1934).

Early Ante-Bellum Montgomery: A Black-Belt Constituency

BY CLANTON W. WILLIAMS

During the first half of the nineteenth century the Lower South was gradually transformed from an Indian country into a highly developed agricultural and commercial region. One of its more important inland towns was Montgomery, Alabama. It had grown up in the heart of the black belt where rich soil, splendid climate, and easy access to the gulf ports had provided the means by which the town and its agrarian surroundings had achieved a relatively high economic and social status by the 1840's. Montgomery had become a market town for thousands of farmers and planters who were finding prosperity in the production of cotton. It had become the home of Georgians, Carolinians, Virginians, and Easterners who had joined the westward movement. It had become an important political center not only of its own "broad-cloth" county and of a large part of the black belt, but also of the state of Alabama whose capital it became in 1846. During the next few years it was to become a center of southern political opinion in the secession movement and eventually the first capital of the Confederacy.

A study of the founding and early growth of this town and of the political thought of its citizens and their rural neighbors should provide a more adequate understanding of the economic, social, and political development of the ante-bellum black belt.

Some three hundred and forty-five miles up the Alabama River from Mobile the earliest white traders found an accessible landing place at the foot of what was known to the Indians as "Chunнанugga Chatty"

or "high red bluff." Upon that promontory they found "Towasa" and "Ikantchati," two villages of the Alibamu for which tribe the river and indirectly the state of Alabama were later named.¹ Further investigation revealed the facts that this location was but twelve miles from the head of the river; that the land to the north across the river and that in the back country was varied and fertile; that Chunnanugga Chatty was the focal point of many well-beaten trails and might easily become something of a commercial center for Indian trade.² So it proved to be. Before the middle of the eighteenth century British traders from this center were operating among the Alibamu and into the Creek country to the east and north.³ By 1777 permanent settlers were passing this point for lands to the west already appropriated by the whites.⁴ During the Revolutionary War the British Colonel John Tait "raised a large number of Indians on the waters of Alabama" and "drilled his troops at Chunnanugga Chatty."⁵

During the next two decades the Tennessee Valley and the Tombigbee-Alabama Basin were rapidly being settled by immigrants from the states to the east. The first decade of the nineteenth century found cotton already the leading agricultural product of the Alabama region.⁶ To prospective settlers in this new country, fertile and well-located cotton lands, easy access to market, good water supply, and healthful sur-

¹ Thomas S. Woodward, *Woodward's Reminiscences of the Creek, or Muscogee Indians, Contained in Letters to Friends in Georgia and Alabama* (Montgomery, 1859), 75-80; Frederick W. Hodge (ed.), *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, 2 pts. (Washington, 1907-1910), I, 43-44; John R. Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors* (Washington, 1922), 191; Benjamin Hawkins, "A Sketch of the Creek Country in the Years 1798 and 1799," in Georgia Historical Society, *Collections* (Savannah, 1840-1916), III, Pt. I (1848), 36.

² Albert J. Pickett, *History of Alabama and Incidentally of Georgia and Mississippi, From the Earliest Period* (Birmingham, 1900), 319 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, 171-72.

⁴ Mark Van Doren (ed.), *The Travels of William Bartram* (New York, 1928), 352.

⁵ Matthew P. Blue Papers (Alabama State Department of Archives and History, Montgomery). This is a collection of several hundred clippings and manuscripts many of which refer to Montgomery. Blue, who was for some years postmaster of Montgomery, had contemplated a history of the city. In this collection, also, are manuscript notes on many Alabama counties, including Montgomery.

⁶ Thomas P. Abernethy, *The Formative Period in Alabama, 1815-1828* (Montgomery, 1922), 11.

roundings were essentials. Land speculators, innkeepers, merchants, artisans, and professional men would follow the cotton planter. Already Chunnanugga Chatty with its rich environs was recognized as fulfilling those requirements. Long before the war between the Creek and the whites (1813-1814) it was "a well known place" for landing and loading of barges and canoes.⁷

Of all the trails which converged upon Chunnanugga Chatty, none was of greater importance than that which came in from the east. Twelve miles away, at what is now Mt. Meigs, it joined a trace which by 1806 had expanded into the "Federal Road."⁸ This was the most important land artery of transportation and communication in early Alabama history. The twelve-mile branch after 1817 became a well-traversed path, for this was the connecting link between the Federal Road and the Alabama River, that other lifeline of the future "Cradle of the Confederacy."

When Andrew Jackson had defeated the Creek and forced them to sign the Treaty of Fort Jackson in 1814, the Alibamu evacuated Chunnanugga Chatty and in 1816 the Mississippi territorial legislature created Montgomery County.⁹

The new county figured prominently in the great land speculations of 1816-1819. Of the twenty-one offices in the United States making sales of public lands during this period the most extravagant prices paid were at the following: Madison County, Alabama (later at Huntsville), an average of \$5.37 per acre; Canton, Ohio (later at Wooster), an average of \$4.17 per acre; and Milledgeville, Georgia (later at Cahawba, Alabama), an average of \$3.60 per acre.¹⁰ It was at Milledgeville that the Alabama River lands in Montgomery County were first

⁷ James G. Klinck to Johnson J. Hooper, in *Montgomery Mail*, November 4, 1858. There were three undated letters from Klinck to Johnson published in *ibid.*, September 25, November 4, 24. They were, presumably, all written from Memphis.

⁸ This road was sometimes called the "Three Chopped Way." Cf. Albert B. Moore, *History of Alabama* (University, Ala., 1934), 67-68.

⁹ Mississippi Territorial Transcripts (Typescript in Alabama State Department of Archives and History). The county was named for Major Lemuel Purnell Montgomery who was killed in the Battle of Horseshoe Bend.

¹⁰ *American State Papers, Public Lands*, V, 384 ff.

put on sale in 1817.¹¹ During 1818 the amount bid on these lands passed the million-dollar mark, and of all the lands sold there the highest prices were paid for those on Chunnanugga Chatty and in the "Big-bend" directly across the river from this bluff.¹²

Even before these sales were terminated several distinct agricultural communities had arisen in the upper Alabama River Basin. The opening years of the 1820's found the Federal Road already a highway for hundreds of slaveholding families on the westward march. Thousands of farmers and planters from the older states were pushing on toward the virgin soil of Alabama. The plantation system was being transplanted from the older southern states so firmly and so quickly that by 1824 slaves outnumbered the whites in the Montgomery vicinity.¹³ The 1820's saw this region assume the cotton-planting, slaveholding characteristics which became the dominant stamp of its ante-bellum history.

By 1830 there were 6,180 whites and 6,515 Negroes in Montgomery County.¹⁴ Of the 1,056 heads of families, 553 were slaveowners, many of whom appear to have been men of means. They entered the county after having purchased their cotton lands directly from the United States government.¹⁵ A conservative estimate shows some ninety Montgomery planter families, each owning at least \$50,000 worth of property. Wealth, however, was fairly well distributed. Capital invested in Negroes by 1830 amounted to approximately \$2,800,000. Farm land values approached \$2,000,000. Cotton production of the Montgomery region had reached 18,000 of the state's 110,000 bales. Per capita wealth

¹¹ Journal of the Receiver's Office at Milledgeville, Georgia, August, 1817-November, 1818 (Alabama State Department of Archives and History).

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Huntsville *Democrat*, November 22, 1824. Cf. Abernethy, *Formative Period in Alabama*, plates 15, 16. Montgomery was the first Alabama county to become permanently "black."

¹⁴ MS. United States Census Reports (Photostatic and microfilmed copies made available through a grant from the University of Alabama Research Fund), 1830. There were 6,515 Negroes of whom 65 were "free persons of color" (one himself a slaveholder). Unless otherwise signified all census citations are to the MS. Reports.

¹⁵ Journal of the Receiver's Office at Milledgeville, Georgia; Journal of the Receiver's Office at Cahawba, Alabama, November, 1818-June 16, 1856 (Alabama State Department of Archives and History); Montgomery County Tract Book (Office of the Secretary of State, Alabama State Capitol, Montgomery).

for free persons in 1830 was already more than \$700. This figure was never reached by the United States as a whole in the ante-bellum period.¹⁶

While it is true that during the early decades each plantation or farm in Montgomery County was in large measure self-sufficient,¹⁷ there was nevertheless a place for urban life, and land speculators in 1817-1818 had not been slow to realize this fact. By 1818 there were four river towns in the county: Augusta, Alabama, Philadelphia, and East Alabama. The last three named occupied old Chunnanugga Chatty. Augusta was about ten miles to the east. For several years after 1817 it enjoyed a distinct boom. Unfortunately for its Georgia speculators, floods and malaria had destroyed it by 1825.¹⁸

Although the first white settlers on the site of present Montgomery were squatters, the true founders were Georgia and eastern real-estate speculators. At the Milledgeville land sales on August 8, 9, 11, and 13, 1817, most of those parts of township 16, ranges 17 and 18, now embraced by the city limits, were purchased by a Georgian, General John Scott and his Alabama Company, Andrew Dexter, and twenty-five other parties.¹⁹

Six days after their purchase Scott and his company were advertising "TOWN LOTS" in the "TOWN OF ALABAMA."²⁰ Before this town had been laid off, however, Dexter, an almost penniless New Englander, arrived to look over the land upon which he had made a 5 per cent down payment.²¹ Fortunately for him, he met John Falconer, James

¹⁶ Estimates based upon U. S. Census Reports, tract books in the Alabama Department of State, and tax records of the state and county. See also, *Atlas of American Agriculture, Cotton* (Washington, 1918), 17, figure 55.

¹⁷ William G. Robertson, "Recollections of the Early Settlers of Montgomery County and Their Families" (MS. in Alabama State Department of Archives and History). This manuscript was later revised and published under the same title at Montgomery in 1892.

¹⁸ William S. Wyman Clippings (Alabama State Department of Archives and History). This collection consists of annotated clippings of articles which appeared in the *Montgomery Daily Advertiser* in November and December, 1896. Wyman was a native of Montgomery, a historian, and president of the University of Alabama, 1901-1902.

¹⁹ Journal of the Receiver's Office at Milledgeville, Georgia.

²⁰ Huntsville *Alabama Republican*, August 14, 1817.

²¹ Klink to Hooper, in *Montgomery Mail*, November 24, 1858; Journal of the Receiver's Office at Milledgeville, Georgia.

G. Klinck, and other Easterners, who contributed financially, and together they laid off lots a mile east of the prospective town of Alabama.²² Their town was soon incorporated under the name "Philadelphia."²³

A serious rivalry soon raged between the "Georgy" group and "Yankee Town." Scott and company succeeded in shutting off Dexter and company from the river front and, being in good political standing, won for their town the privilege of being the county seat.²⁴ But Philadelphia, being on higher ground and to the east of the town of Alabama, succeeded in intercepting immigrating settlers and merchants. Seeing that the latter place was doomed, Scott and Dr. Charles Williamson organized a new "Alabama Company" and in 1818 founded East Alabama adjacent to Philadelphia and about a half mile up the river from Alabama.²⁵ For a year longer, as both groups prospered, the fight continued. A movement for unification finally resulted in the incorporation of both towns under the name "Montgomery" on December 3, 1819.²⁶

The appearance of Montgomery in 1820 was that of a struggling but ambitious little frontier village. Market Street (now Dexter Avenue) was 140 feet wide and Main Street (Commerce), which led from its junction with Market, Court, and Montgomery streets to the river, was 120 feet in width.²⁷ Forty-two houses (twenty-seven of logs) in the Philadelphia section and twenty (eleven of logs) in East Alabama comprised the residences and business establishments.²⁸ Muddy streets and the presence of several debris-filled ponds and piles of decaying cotton

²² Klinck to Hooper, in *Montgomery Mail*, November 24, 1858.

²³ *Acts Passed at the First Session of the First General Assembly of the Alabama Territory* (St. Stephens, Ala., 1818), 69. Cited hereafter as *Acts of the Alabama Territory*.

²⁴ Samuel Dexter, "Plan of the City of Montgomery," 1842 (Map in Alabama State Department of Archives and History); Blue Papers; Klinck to Hooper, in *Montgomery Mail*, September 25, November 4, 1858; Woodward, *Woodward's Reminiscences*, 133 ff.; *Acts of the Alabama Territory*, 119.

²⁵ Montgomery County Probate Records, Book E; and Montgomery County Tract Book (Montgomery County Courthouse, Montgomery); *Montgomery Republican*, January 6, 1821.

²⁶ *Acts of the General Assembly of the State of Alabama*, 1820, p. 110. Cited hereafter as *Alabama Acts*. The town was named for Major General Richard Montgomery. Blue Papers.

²⁷ Dexter, "Plan of the City of Montgomery," 1842.

²⁸ *Montgomery Republican*, February 17, 1821.

seed were for more than fourteen years sources of embarrassment to the town council.²⁹

The ponds doubtless contributed their quota of mosquitoes, though the summer of 1826 saw the only malarial epidemic of the first decade. Some twenty-one physicians, nevertheless, placed their cards in the weekly papers. Despite some sickness, Montgomery was not an unhealthful place. This is attested to by the fact that during the first decade after its incorporation the village experienced a population increase of 276 per cent. By the end of 1829 there were about 800 white and 650 black inhabitants.³⁰

Building and business, except for 1823, showed almost a continuous acceleration during Montgomery's earliest years. By 1826 a visiting German reported that this frontier village had "already a very lively appearance." He also noted, "This town is so new, that the original forest still stands between the houses."³¹

From the beginning Montgomery was the center of a slaveowning, cotton-producing region. It was itself populated largely by persons who had gained economic and social stability before joining the westward movement. It hardly seems surprising, therefore, to note that Montgomery never passed through a period of raucous and rugged individualism such as characterized some pioneer towns of other American frontiers. Council ordinances of the 1820's and 1830's strictly forbade the maintenance of gaming devices. The preservation of the peace and quiet observance of the Sabbath were insisted upon. A nine o'clock curfew was rung. Slaves were well regulated and "patrolled."³²

To be sure, indecorum and vice did exist and often tempers ran high. Gambling on cockfights and horse races was an accompaniment of lot-

²⁹ Records of the Corporation, Book A, 1820-1834 (In author's possession).

³⁰ Accurate figures for 1830 are not available. There was a local census in 1834 which gave the total as 1,772. Copy of a manuscript sealed in the cornerstone of the First Baptist Church, Montgomery, in Albert J. Pickett Papers (Alabama State Department of Archives and History). Saxe-Weimar in 1826 estimated the population at 1,200. Bernard Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach, *Travels through North America, during the Years 1825 and 1826*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1828), II, 31.

³¹ Saxe-Weimar, *Travels through North America*, II, 31.

³² Records of the Corporation, Book A.

tery sales. There were a few occasions of nocturnal disorders, one case of slave stealing, one robbery, and four murders. Occasionally letters to the newspapers from pious citizens decried cardplaying in hotel rooms. It is significant that the editorial comment upon improprieties did not involve discourse upon the lack of morals but rather the "shocking disgracefulness" that disorders should exist at all.

Justice was leisurely administered. Although the law required the death penalty for slave stealing, counterfeiting, and murder, no one was executed in Montgomery during its first decade. Several criminals escaped from prison and several others were simply run out of town. It seemed somewhat pardonable for a gentleman to avenge an insult and, while he might be brought before the bar of justice and convicted, his penalty need not be great if the case concerned personal honor.³³

Violence often went unpunished, but in instances where low principles were involved Montgomery's frontier townsmen devised a means of punishment which often involved humiliation and disgrace. To this end there was organized the "Montgomery Regulating Horn," more familiarly known as "Jake Odum's Boys" or the "Rail Society." Membership required possession of a horn which was to be blown by any member discovering a malfeasant. On more than one occasion the blast of a horn was answered by similar signals all over town. Then an assembly, without ceremony or trial, proceeded to treat the culprit "to a striped jacket, a full suit of tar and feathers and a cold shower bath at one of the public pumps."³⁴ Should this early vigilance committee so decide, the accused might have "his face painted and [be] treated to a ride through the public streets [on a rail]. In a very aggravated case, the offender suffered the extreme expiatory sentence of the law by an immersion in the river, which he received with less blessing than cursing."³⁵

Viewed as a whole this frontier community of whites and blacks appears to have been a well-mannered, solidly moral group. The gen-

³³ Cf. *Montgomery Republican*, 1820-1825; *Montgomery Alabama Journal*, 1825-1830.

³⁴ *Montgomery Alabama Journal*, June 16, 1827.

³⁵ "Orion" in unidentified clipping without date, in *Blue Papers*; *Montgomery Alabama Journal*, June 16, 1827.

eral tenor was one of liberality. Its moral stamina apparently was based chiefly upon relatively high standards of decorum rather than upon religious tenets. Religion, however, had its place also. Even before the organization into formal congregations of the Presbyterians (1824), Methodists (1829), and Baptists (1829) there had been launched a movement to procure a place of community worship. This resulted in the establishment of a rather unusual "Union Church" where all denominations "walked and worshipped together as disciples of the Savior."⁸⁶

With children outnumbering adults in Montgomery County in the 1820's,⁸⁷ education naturally constituted a major consideration. At least thirteen teachers, besides private tutors, offered instruction in Montgomery prior to 1828.⁸⁸ One of these offered "Reading and Writing for \$5, per quarter of twelve weeks; Grammar, Geography, and Common Rules of Arithmetic, \$7½; and Higher Branches of Education, \$10." The editor of the *Montgomery Republican* sold textbooks. Two lottery schemes to raise funds for an academy failed. Nevertheless, persistent efforts resulted in the establishment by December, 1827, of the Milton Academy. Here young gentlemen were prepared "for admission to any of the universities in the United States."

Cultural advancement was not exclusively the province of school children. For adults there were increasing appearances of itinerant lecturers, which apparently met cordial responses. Occasionally penmanship experts advertised their "Writing Schools." Various literary clubs enjoyed memberships from both sexes. Extant libraries of the period attest the purchase of good books and periodicals. The *Montgomery Republican* (1821-1825) and its successor, the *Alabama Journal* (1825-1857), were both widely read. Chief among other Montgomery publications was the *Christian Advocate* (1825-1840).

⁸⁶ Minutes of Session, 1824, First Presbyterian Church, Montgomery (Copy in Possession of John H. Durr, Montgomery); Matthew P. Blue, *Churches of the City of Montgomery, Alabama, Embracing Their Early Organization, Progress, and Present Condition* (Montgomery, 1878), 9.

⁸⁷ *Fourth Census: 1820* (Washington, 1821), 29.

⁸⁸ *Montgomery Republican*, 1821-1825; *Montgomery Alabama Journal*, 1825-1829. The following paragraphs are based largely on these sources.

The Thespian Society introduced theatricals in 1822; and within a few years Montgomerians were enjoying the double-named plays and accompanying farces of "Judah of Mobile" or of the famed Sol Smith. The Montgomery Theatre was dedicated by the latter on January 25, 1830.

From its beginning Montgomery was a friendly, sociable village. Two dancing masters during the 1820's offered instruction. Entertainments apparently were given on every appropriate occasion. The fraternal spirit ran all the way from a Masonic Chapter (1823) to ladies' raffles, and from neighborly aid to victims of fire to "The Lazy Club" and "Montgomery Jockey Club." By 1828 horse racing had developed into such a social event as to be attended by ladies.

The biggest day of any normal year was without doubt the "Glorious Fourth." Festivities usually began at sunrise with the firing of one of the brass cannon which had been brought down the river from old Fort Toulouse. At eleven o'clock came a procession which on occasions saw Captain Rhodes L. Smith's "Montgomery Guards," or Captain John Goldthwaite's "Montgomery Light Infantry," or Captain Hugh W. Henry's "elegant cavalry company" parading through the streets which were usually crowded not only by Montgomerians but by whites, blacks, and even a sprinkling of redskins who had come to town to see this wonderful sight. At noon the old cannon boomed forth again. Already many had crowded into Courthouse Square "where the Throne of Grace [was] addressed in an appropriate prayer" after which the Declaration of Independence was read solemnly and stentoriously, and finally an address was made by one of the numerous orators. At two o'clock the more prominent gentlemen usually "sat down to a sumptuous entertainment" at one of the taverns. After dinner many toasts were drunk, "interspersed with patriotic songs &c." Finally, that night the nine o'clock bell was ignored by those who could now show how well they had learned the lessons of the dancing masters.

The greatest single day Montgomerians of the first decade ever knew was Sunday, April 3, 1825. Indeed, from the emotional accounts which increased in intensity as the years rolled by, it was the greatest day of

several decades, and to many the greatest day of their lives, for it was upon this occasion that the Marquis de Lafayette arrived in this excited little village. Among the more credible tales concerning this event are these: that one man was so excited when he saw the hero that he fell backwards into a well;³⁹ that Governor Israel Pickens was so moved when he met the General on the hill at the eastern end of Market Street that he made a very poor attempt at expressing Alabama's official welcome;⁴⁰ that the crowd went wild when a band played "Hail to the Chief";⁴¹ that the committee of entertainment had previously gone from house to house borrowing the finest of everything (there was one Brussels rug in town) with which to fit out John Edmondson's home, the owner having evacuated in favor of the General;⁴² that old soldiers "fell upon his [Lafayette's] neck and embraced him with their arms while sincere tears flowed down their furrowed cheeks."⁴³ "Preachers and congregations sought the presence of La Fayette instead of the house of God, esteeming it a religious duty to express their gratitude and patriotic admiration."⁴⁴ The next day the crowds jammed into the parlor at Edmondson's that they might shake hands with Montgomery's guest. Mothers brought their babies that they might some day boast that they had seen Lafayette.

That night a "grand ball" was given for the Marquis, but the sixty-seven year old guest of honor was so tired that he withdrew as soon as possible and, after spending an hour at the home of John Gindrat,⁴⁵

³⁹ Woodward, *Woodward's Reminiscences*, 66.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* See Pickens Papers for an account of correspondence with Lafayette and the various reception committees.

⁴¹ Woodward, *Woodward's Reminiscences*, 66.

⁴² MS. copies of newspaper accounts of the day, in Blue Papers. Files of these papers are not extant. See also, Edmondson's voucher for \$260 "For the use of my House on the east side of Commerce Street near Square, servants, Liquors, for the persons visiting Genl. LaFayette, Governor Pickens, &c." (Alabama State Department of Archives and History).

⁴³ *Montgomery Daily Advertiser*, ?, 1871, clipping in Blue Papers.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* From the account of the churches given above it will be noticed that this quotation needs some qualification. There was only one organized congregation in Montgomery in 1825 (Presbyterian) and it had no building. There may have been "arbors" in surrounding communities.

⁴⁵ For many years afterwards old ladies delighted to tell how they had danced with Lafayette and how they had entertained him in their homes. Poetry has even been written

boarded a steamboat which was to leave early the next morning for Cahawba. Meanwhile, the ball continued in the upper story of the only brick building in town.

The next most exciting day was October 22, 1821, when the *Harriett* arrived. This was the first steamboat ever to ascend the Alabama. Six months later the *Tensa* came, and soon barges of "flats" were being supplanted by the new method of river transportation. It was a far cry from the time in 1819 when Henry Goldthwaite made a trip from Mobile by flatboat in "three months," to the day when the *Herald* docked at Montgomery, having made the trip in sixty-five hours, including time for stops.

A stage line between Montgomery and Milledgeville, Georgia, was projected in April, 1821. Within a few years there were eight weekly stages making their tedious runs to and from Montgomery. By 1830 one wishing transportation to Tuscaloosa, Alabama's capital, might take a two-horse stage at four in the morning on Monday and arrive in the capital city at noon on Friday. This was a trip of 150 miles in 104 hours, or less than one and a half miles per hour. This schedule, of course, did not allow for possible delay because of accident or bad weather. Rates were twelve and a half cents per mile and a passenger was allowed but fifteen pounds of baggage, which would be carried at his own risk.⁴⁶

Although the stages were patronized when necessary, the river for many years remained by far the most important means of communication with southern points. It was, of course, an essential economic factor, for Montgomery early became an important inland shipping point for cotton. By 1830 this town enjoyed the major share of the business of many farmers and small planters, but most of the large planters transacted their affairs directly with seaport factors. The number of business houses in Montgomery in 1830 had doubled that of 1821, while the volume of business was increasing manyfold. Besides selling his cotton to the commission merchants a farmer could now buy in this

about the visit. The *Montgomery Advertiser*, July 4, 1834, was black bordered, word having just been received of Lafayette's death on the preceding May 20.

⁴⁶ *Montgomery Alabama Journal*, January 15, 1830.

thriving little town anything from calicoes, burlaps, and ticklenburgs to "Super Splendid Ribbons," "Tea Bells," and "Cut Glass Ware," or from "Methodist Hymn Books" and "Pocket Bibles" to "Silver-handled Dirks" and "Brimstone Whiskey."

Politically, during its first decade Montgomery was simply a county seat, but it was becoming the home of a constantly increasing number of lawyers and politicians. Furthermore, it was quite early the principal town within an area of some twelve hundred square miles of rich agricultural country and, therefore, was already assuming importance as a political center.⁴⁷ Its newspapers furnished the chief political literature to thousands of black-belt farmers and planters.

It has been maintained that Alabama farmers during the early years were comparatively uninterested in politics, there being no great issues before the public.⁴⁸ This did not hold true in the black belt. When the call to the polls was made in the very first year (1819) more than 87 per cent of Montgomery County's white adult males registered their political opinions.⁴⁹ This vote was typical of the whole ante-bellum period in the Montgomery region even though politics usually occupied a secondary position of public interest to that held by the production and the price of cotton.

The voters of this pioneer region at first were inclined to vote only for those candidates with whom there was common ground of native affinity. The majority of early settlers at Montgomery were Georgians and South Carolinians. Thus in 1819 a small majority of Montgomeries voted for members of the Crawfordite "Georgia Machine."⁵⁰ Two years later, however, when Montgomery County voted overwhelmingly for the North Carolinian, Israel Pickens, for governor, consideration of

⁴⁷ This figure does not include the vast Creek Indian "Nation" to the east and northeast.

⁴⁸ Cf. Abernethy, *Formative Period in Alabama*, 141; Theodore H. Jack, *Sectionalism and Party Politics in Alabama, 1819-1842* (Menasha, Wis., 1919), 1 ff.

⁴⁹ Comparison of Official Election Returns, 1819 (Alabama State Department of Archives and History), with *Fourth Census: 1820*, p. 29.

⁵⁰ Cf. William Garrett, *Reminiscences of Public Men in Alabama, for Thirty Years* (Atlanta, 1872), 35-36; Official Election Returns, 1819. Abernethy, *Formative Period in Alabama*, 47, says that the "Georgia faction" was "strongest in the neighborhood of Montgomery County."

nativity was definitely being absorbed by the larger concept of personal acceptability. Thus quite early the first "political party," the so-called "Georgia Machine," was destroyed in Montgomery County and soon died in Alabama at large.

Meanwhile, sectionalism in Alabama politics had arisen and Montgomery in the black belt was allied with the "South" against the Tennessee Valley and the poorer hill counties of the "North." A tendency toward sectionalism had been discernible in 1819 in the vote for Governor W. W. Bibb who favored Cahawba (on the Alabama River) for the site of the state capitol. Sectionalism was quite definite in 1821 and even more so in 1823 when Montgomerians voted for Pickens of Washington County in southern Alabama rather than for the Crawfordite Henry Chambers of Madison County in northern Alabama.⁵¹

In the presidential election of 1824 Alabama, a frontier state, fervently supported the hero of the Creek War. It is significant, however, that Jackson did not carry Montgomery County. Of the total 950 votes he received only 452. While the 52.42 per cent of the voters who cast their votes for William H. Crawford and John Quincy Adams⁵² may not have been definitely anti-Jackson, it is nevertheless true that here was a large body of voters, many of whom were opposed to the leveling tendencies of Jacksonian Democracy. In the next presidential election they might easily have been crystallized into a definite anti-Jackson machine if some acceptable opposition candidate had appeared. But such a candidate did not appear in 1828. The Adams-Clay "bargain" in 1825, coupled with the tariff issue, had eliminated both the New England President and the Kentucky Secretary as possibilities.

Jackson's supporters in Montgomery by 1827 were again loud in their praise of "Old Hickory" and for a while even the aristocracy of this planter stronghold apparently was being swept along by the "Jackson fever."⁵³ Indeed, it was a Montgomery aristocrat who presented resolutions to the state legislature of 1827 nominating Jackson as Alabama's

⁵¹ Official Election Returns, 1821.

⁵² *Ibid.* Protectionist Henry Clay did not receive a vote.

⁵³ Montgomery *Alabama Journal*, December 14, 1827.

candidate.⁵⁴ It should be noted, however, that here Montgomery's young giant, Dixon H. Lewis, was offering "purely negative" support to Jackson, for the major part of his resolution was a scathing condemnation of Adams for his failure to follow a policy of state rights.⁵⁵

When the polls closed on November 4, 1828, Montgomery County had silently expressed disapproval of Andrew Jackson. For the "Old Hero," who had wrested their lands from the Indians in 1814, only 364 Montgomery County voters expressed their thanks while 37 actually voted for John Quincy Adams.⁵⁶ This was by far the lightest vote ever cast in the county's history. Montgomery was a county which ordinarily turned out 87 to 92 per cent of its voters in political contests, including presidential elections. In 1828 only 33 per cent of this black-belt constituency expressed its presidential preference.⁵⁷ For two thirds of this politically conscious planter community deliberately to "go fishing" on November 4, appears to have been hardly less than a negative rebuff to Jacksonian Democracy. To be sure, some refrained because Jackson's victory in Alabama was a foregone conclusion, yet upon other occasions when heavy polls occurred there were similar assurances of success. Subsequent anti-Jackson feeling and the fact that North Alabama polled an unusually heavy vote for Jackson in 1828 gives rise to the assumption that Montgomery's voters apparently closed their first decade in political disappointment.⁵⁸

The years between 1830 and 1846 saw a definite evolutionary ten-

⁵⁴ *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Alabama, 1826-1827*, pp. 182 ff. Cited hereafter as *Alabama House Journal*.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*; Abernethy, *Formative Period in Alabama*, 121. Lewis at twenty years of age (1823) is said to have weighed 330 pounds. He probably weighed 500 pounds when he died in 1848. He always paid double fare on the mail coaches. At political rallies in the summer friends vied for the privilege of fanning him as he spoke. 'Congress provided him with a special chair "of very large dimensions, and of the strongest manufacture." Cf. Garrett, *Reminiscences*, 471-75.

⁵⁶ Official Election Returns, 1828. The total vote was 401.

⁵⁷ Comparison of Official Election Returns, 1828, and U. S. Census Reports, 1830. There were approximately 1,200 adult white males in 1828.

⁵⁸ Total state vote: Jackson, 17,325; Adams, 1,972. Official Election Returns, 1828. There were approximately 35,700 adult white males. Comparison of *Fourth Census: 1820*, p. 29, and U. S. Census Reports, 1830.

dency in the town of Montgomery. Indeed, not half this time had run its course before the state legislature (1837) declared it to be a city and conferred upon it a new charter. By the close of this period Montgomery was looked upon by many as the most important city in the state (though Mobile was much larger). Its newspapers were then wielding a large influence upon the political thought of the whole black belt. By 1846 it had become a place of such political strength as to be able to wrest from Tuscaloosa the important privilege of being the state's capital.

Meanwhile the population of Montgomery had increased since 1830 by more than 260 per cent, so that by 1846 it approximated 3,800, of which 48 per cent was black.⁵⁹

The causes for this growth are numerous and varied. Not only was there a material increase of the birth rate over the death rate (particularly after the elimination of malarial ponds in 1834) but there was also a continuous influx of settlers.⁶⁰ The deterioration of cotton lands to the east and the opening of a land office in Montgomery in 1832; the removal of the neighboring Creek Indians in 1836 and the elimination of a feeling of frontier insecurity; the panic of 1837 and its resultant distress in the older states; the prosperity of Montgomery County planters and their investment of surplus capital in real estate, business houses, and transportation facilities; and the general development of an appreciation of educational and cultural progress—all these items made this black-belt market town a place of economic and social importance and a place where numbers of emigrants from the areas to the east and north as well as cotton planters of the immediate region desired to live and rear their children.

An examination of census returns in conjunction with other records reveals the names of planters who were also physicians, lawyers, hotel

⁵⁹ Cf. Huntsville *Southern Advocate*, July 24, 1846, which gives the population as "about 4,000"; local census, 1849 (Alabama State Department of Archives and History), which lists 4,633; and U. S. Census Reports, 1850, which shows a population of 4,728. The figure 8,728 in the *Seventh Census: 1850* (Washington, 1853), 422, is an error.

⁶⁰ U. S. Census Reports, 1830, 1840, 1850; cemetery records; Blue Papers; Records of the Corporation, Books A, B, C; newspapers of the period.

proprietors, bank directors, railroad executives, steamboat owners, journalists, engineers, or commission merchants. They were primarily planters but they also frequently followed other professions. While the majority of them still lived on their plantations, many of them owned city property. One traveling the rural roads of the surrounding rich black-belt cotton country today sees few imposing ante-bellum houses. The early planters did little pretentious building in the rural sections, yet today within the city of Montgomery there still stand scores of fine old houses which were formerly the property and residences of ante-bellum planters.⁶¹

The cultural advancement in Montgomery during the period 1830-1846 was in proportion to that of the population.⁶² A brick structure housed the new Franklin Academy in December, 1832. The Montgomery Male and Female Academy was opened in 1840. Besides these there were the sixteenth section elementary schools; "Mrs. Rowe's School for Young Ladies" (1833); and the "Pestalozzian School" (1839) of J. S. Elliott, who offered courses in reading, spelling, writing, geography, grammar, arithmetic, natural philosophy, chemistry, astronomy, book-keeping, history, French, Latin, and Greek. For adults there were a circulating library, "Writing Academies," the "Lyceum Association," itinerant lecturers, a "Young Men's Debating Society," and various musicales. Continuous development of theatricals paralleled the evolution of taste in this growing town. Better circuses, crowded street fairs, and colorful horse races, all contributed to the increasing gaiety of life.

The moral tone continued on a relatively high plane. Although gambling and drinking had increased with the population, the rough and lawless element never gained the upper hand in Montgomery society. There were but four murders during the entire period from 1830 to 1846 and not a case on record of death from dueling. Moreover, the behavior of the black population was of a high order.

⁶¹ Comparison of the Montgomery County Probate Records and those of the State Abstract Company in Montgomery with U. S. Census Reports, 1830, 1840, 1850.

⁶² Montgomery *Alabama Journal*, 1830-1842; Blue Papers; Records of the Corporation, Books, A, B, C, D.

Attempts to enforce strictly the laws against selling liquor to Negroes appear to have been successful.

Churches also enjoyed a healthy growth. During the first five years of the second decade six new churches were erected along the improved streets of Montgomery and one more was added three years later.⁶³

To European visitors Montgomery "appeared . . . more quiet, orderly, and in better condition" than other "Southern towns";⁶⁴ its planters were a "merry set of fellows, and many of them exceedingly intelligent."⁶⁵ One visitor in 1842 pronounced Montgomery a "quiet and sober-minded town."⁶⁶

The latter visitor did not see Montgomery during the busy days from about September 15 to the latter part of January when Courthouse Square was jammed with wagons loaded with cotton. While its ordinary citizenry might then have appeared to be sober-minded enough, it is doubtful that one would have gained an impression of quietness. For this was the season wherein this inland market town enjoyed its *pièce de resistance*. The concert of whinnying horses and braying mules, the clanging noises from blacksmith shops, the jovial gossip of tobacco-chewing courthouse loiterers, the boisterous laughter of sweating Negroes, the stuffiness of crowded stores, the taste of good plain food in fly-plagued inns, the smell of newly-baled cotton, the sight of small groups of farmers crowding around the cotton brokers—here was a spectacle that strangers long remembered.

Probably not more than 12,000 bales were sold in Montgomery during 1833-1834, but in 1838-1839 cotton receipts showed 21,358 bales⁶⁷ which sold (at 13 cents per pound) for some \$981,789. In 1842-1843 farmers sold more than 50,000 bales in Montgomery,⁶⁸ but with the

⁶³ Blue, *Churches of Montgomery*, 31-58.

⁶⁴ James S. Buckingham, *The Slave States of America*, 2 vols. (London, [1842]), I, 483

⁶⁵ Tyrone Power, *Impressions of America; During the Years 1833, 1834, and 1835*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1836), II, 101.

⁶⁶ Louis F. Tasistro, *Random Shots and Southern Breezes*, 2 vols. (New York, 1842), II, 81.

⁶⁷ *Montgomery Daily Post*, July 12, 1860.

⁶⁸ "Commercial Record," in *Montgomery Alabama Journal*, January 11, 1843, in Blue Papers.

price at the lowest figure in Montgomery's history (4 to 6 cents per pound) the returns amounted to only \$875,000. Yet, despite the depression of that season, the *Alabama Journal* was able to report that "The signs denote the presence of capital. . . . The advance in real estate in this city during the last six months has been . . . not less than 25 per cent."⁶⁹ Nor was the editor whistling in the dark. A correspondent of the *Mobile Tribune* on November 12, 1842, had written from Montgomery that he "found everything in a complete state of stir and bustle. . . . All the hotels are filled. . . . Houses are going up in every direction."

While Montgomery was still essentially dependent upon its agrarian surroundings, it was of itself assuming some economic independence. By 1835 some sixty-eight business firms had been established.⁷⁰ By 1840, 122 persons were engaged in commerce and 185 were employed in manufacturing and trades.⁷¹ The total valuation of business houses then approximated a million dollars and by 1846 approached the two-million-dollar mark.⁷² Even in the depression year 1842 the streets were "thronged with wagons loaded with cotton and the produce of Tennessee and North Alabama." These farmers and merchants from the hill country would "take home in return a great amount of groceries and other merchandise."⁷³

In addition to its churches, homes, and stores, by 1840 visitors might also observe the \$50,000 Montgomery Hall hotel which was judged by a correspondent of the Boston *Bay State Democrat* to be "an excellent public house . . . altogether superior to any house that I have met with in an inland city."⁷⁴ By 1840 there had been constructed three wharves, each supplanting its predecessor (1830, 1833, and 1836), a bank building (1834), a bookstore (1833), a new market house (1834), an ice-

⁶⁹ Montgomery *Alabama Journal*, November 23, 1842.

⁷⁰ Based on advertisements appearing in the Montgomery *Alabama Journal*, 1835.

⁷¹ *Compendium . . . of the Sixth Census, 1840* (Washington, 1841), 55.

⁷² Comparison of the U. S. Census Reports for 1840 and 1850.

⁷³ *Mobile Tribune*, quoted in Montgomery *Alabama Journal*, November 23, 1842.

⁷⁴ Boston *Bay State Democrat*, June 18, 1842, quoted in Montgomery *Alabama Journal*, July 6, 1842. The two paragraphs following contain information based largely upon material gathered from the files of the Montgomery *Alabama Journal*, 1830-1842.

house (1835), a new brick jail (1836), several large cotton warehouses, a new \$10,000 brick courthouse (1838), and a railroad depot (1839). Building continued to increase and by the close of 1846 Montgomery gave employment to an architect, a contractor, two stonecutters, two brickmakers, ten bricklayers, a dozen lumbermen, some fifteen painters, and more than fifty carpenters.⁷⁵

To protect the buildings from destruction by fire, Montgomery's citizens organized two volunteer fire companies.⁷⁶ But their efforts to extinguish blazes were seldom successful. There were seven great fires between March 4, 1830, and May 1, 1846, with an attendant loss of about \$200,000.

Development of transportation facilities was not confined to enlargement of river traffic and improvement of highways and stage schedules; there was also constructed from this town into the cotton lands to the east Alabama's first steam railroad. Wealthy planters and progressive businessmen of Montgomery launched this project in 1832.⁷⁷ Ground was broken on February 2, 1836. Construction was hampered by low rates imposed by the company's charter and by various accidents and vicissitudes. But by August, 1840, the Montgomery Railroad Company had a daily train hauling cotton to Montgomery over thirty-three and a half miles of track.⁷⁸ Through heroic efforts of Abner McGehee during the depression (1841-1843) the train remained in operation. In March, 1845, a state loan was secured and building was resumed. Within six years the road was extended to West Point, Georgia, and in later years Montgomerians found their project an important link in the railroad route from New York to New Orleans and the West.

Meanwhile, Montgomery had become an important financial center for planters and farmers. During the 1820's and early 1830's many large planters had traded directly with Mobile factors. Once a year they would accompany their shipments by boats to the southern port and

⁷⁵ Comparison of U. S. Census Reports, 1850, and newspaper advertisements.

⁷⁶ *Alabama Acts*, 1831, p. 40; *ibid.*, 1843, pp. 92-93.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 1832, pp. 70-74; U. S. Census Reports, 1830.

⁷⁸ Montgomery *Alabama Journal*, November 4, 1840; March 3, 1841; Records of the Western Railway of Alabama (Atlanta Office).

return with a year's supply of plantation necessities. Cash had been scarce in Alabama and a certain amount of barter had been necessary. Small businessmen in Montgomery had been unable to compete with the Mobile factors for the trade of the large planters, though with smaller farmers Montgomery commission merchants had been able to transact business often on mutually favorable terms. Prosperous years had permitted the accumulation of capital. In time farmers and planters were enabled to borrow cash not only from the Montgomery branch of the Alabama State Bank, but also from an increasing number of commission merchants. By 1846 cotton receipts had reached 57,000 bales whose sale, with cotton at 10 cents per pound, amounted in that season to approximately \$2,000,000, or more than double the figure of four years before.⁷⁹ In 1846 some ten or twelve Mobile factors advertised in the *Alabama Journal and Advertiser*, but even though the seaport brokers continued to buy much Montgomery cotton, local commission merchants and cotton buyers managed to pay planters and farmers as good prices as they could have obtained had they shipped their cotton to Mobile.⁸⁰ Thus, by the middle 1840's, with continued accumulation of capital in their city, Montgomery businessmen were rapidly supplanting the Mobile factors in the economic life of the large planters. To hundreds of small planters and farmers this black-belt center had already become almost indispensable. Montgomery by 1846 was the economic focal point for a wide country embracing all the rich black-belt counties to the east and the southeast, the whole newly-settled Indian lands of the northeast, and parts of the more distant Tennessee Valley. Cotton from far up the Chattahoochee in Georgia now found its way to market in this prospering city near the headwaters of the Alabama.

From the beginning there had been an important element of aristocracy among the slaveholding majority of "black" Montgomery County. By 1828 rough frontier characteristics were shading into those of gentility among the wealthier farmers and small planters. That tendency

⁷⁹ *Atlas of American Agriculture, Cotton*, 20, figure 68; Blue Papers.

⁸⁰ Transportation to Mobile was \$1.50 per bale. Passage was \$15 per person each way. Advertisement in *Montgomery Alabama Journal*, 1844.

increased as the hard toil of the early years began to reap a harvest of agrarian security. Wealth brought time for leisure, for reading, and for the pursuits of the social graces.

It appears that many planters and smaller property owners felt the need for a solid understanding of the essentials of the law. They insisted that the education of their sons should not be lacking in this respect. Quite early the Montgomery constituency as a whole was distinctly legal minded. In 1821 the city had a practicing lawyer for every fourteen adult white males and by 1828 one in every seventy-three adult white males in Montgomery County was an attorney. This abundance of lawyers increased as the next generation came forward so that by 1845 there was a licensed attorney for every sixty-seven adult white males in this planter county.⁸¹ In the city, during the year before Montgomery became the state capital, the proportion of practicing lawyers stood at 7.2 per cent of the adult white males.

From the beginning Montgomery County contained more doctors than lawyers and by 1846 the physicians outnumbered the attorneys by almost two to one.⁸² Many of them were graduates of Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia, and thus they knew the political thought of the North. Like a large proportion of the lawyers many of the doctors were also planters. In their visits to their patients and in their intercourse with their fellow planters it would have been most unnatural indeed should they have failed to wield a powerful influence in political matters. Several of Montgomery's most important politicians were at the same time planters and physicians.

By nature, through environment, and because of training, a majority of these black-belt slaveholding cotton producers felt themselves well

⁸¹ These figures are based upon a comparison of the number of legal cards appearing in the newspapers and the list of licensed lawyers in 1845 appearing in Garrett, *Reminiscences*, 780-91, with the U. S. Census Reports, 1830, 1840, 1850. By the same comparison it may be shown that this proportion was typical of the eight "blackest" counties of the state. Of the adult white males in the eight Tennessee Valley counties one in every 259 was a lawyer in 1845. In the eight "whitest" hill counties there was a lawyer to every 349 adult white males, while in the four "wire-grass" counties of southeast Alabama the proportion stood at 1 to 584.

⁸² Professional cards in the newspapers; Garrett, *Reminiscences*, 780-91; U. S. Census Reports, 1840, 1850.

qualified to pass judgment upon the administrative policies of governors and of presidents, upon the acts of the state legislature and of the United States Congress, and upon decisions of the courts. They were quite willing to criticize their own institutions, but they felt that they best understood their own problems and that whatever changes were to be made should be made cautiously and then not by means of outside interference. Although there were accompanying evils, the institution of slavery engendered among the whites a deportment of confident dignity which was accentuated by success. They respected the constitutions under which their security had grown and they intended to protect their position.

It would have been strange had not this condition produced a spirit of proud independence in political thought. It should not be surprising to find this black-belt constituency, of which Montgomery was the center, producing such political leaders as Dixon H. Lewis, Samuel C. Oliver, James E. Belser, Henry W. Hilliard, William L. Yancey, Thomas H. Watts, the Bibbs, the Goldthwaites, and the Fitzpatricks. Nor should it be surprising that among these leaders there were various political differences—differences which produced spirited political campaigns, and differences which often deeply disturbed the tranquillity of this easygoing agricultural constituency. It is significant that those differences arose largely over issues of how best to protect the established institutions.

In the earlier period, there being no real party politics comparable to that which followed, campaigns were rather quiet affairs. Personal acceptability was an essential to success. Oratory and theatricals played important parts at mass meetings, hustings, barbecues, and Fourth of July celebrations. But throughout the period under discussion the results of political campaigns bore witness to the fact that theatricals and verbosity were distinctly secondary to the degree of logic advanced by politicians, for the voters attended the rallies not only to be entertained but also to be instructed and to be given solid material for political thought.

As a means to this latter end many subscribed to Montgomery's two

newspapers which in time were aligned in opposing political camps. By 1846 the *Alabama Journal* (1825-1857) had come a long way since it first appeared in 1821 as the *Montgomery Republican*. First Jeffersonian, then Adams principles were advocated. Beginning in 1826 the *Alabama Journal* became strict constructionist. For a short time it was mildly Jacksonian, after which it became nullificationist, then State-Rights Whig. Under the editorship of Henry W. Hilliard (1839-1841) the *Alabama Journal* became the most powerful organ of the Whig party in the Alabama black belt with an influence extending far beyond the state limits. Its policies were conservative, solid, and aristocratic. It reached its greatest fame under the Unionist Whig, John C. Bates of New York, who was editor from 1841 to 1857.

Meanwhile, the *Advertiser* had come on the scene, first (1830-1833) as the *Planters' Gazette*, a State-Rights Democrat paper of the Jeffersonian school. For a while, like the *Alabama Journal*, it was strict constructionist. But under James E. Belser, who from 1832 to 1847 edited it under different mastheads, the *Advertiser* became an advocate of Union Democracy and as such was recognized as "the guide post and text-book of all the truly faithful in the democratic household."⁸³

Conflicting political viewpoints had appeared in Montgomery long before party alignment was discernible. In 1826 men were able to drink toasts both to "The Union of the States—The Golden Chain of our Liberties, [and to] States Rights . . . The Ark of our Safety."⁸⁴ Even as late as 1830 the *Alabama Journal* was able to endorse the Kentucky Resolutions while advocating "harmony in the Union."⁸⁵ But by 1831 Montgomerians had become so divided in political opinion that they held separate celebrations of Independence Day and drank separate

⁸³ William W. Screws, "Alabama Journalism," in *Memorial Record of Alabama*, 2 vols. (Madison, Wis., 1893), II, 180-86. Examination of this sketch has been supplemented by a study of all extant files of these papers. The *Montgomery Advertiser* in subsequent years became a powerful secessionist paper. It continued uninterrupted until its equipment was destroyed in 1865. The paper was subsequently revived and under W. W. Screws after 1867 gained strength and still exists as an important Democratic organ.

⁸⁴ *Montgomery Alabama Journal*, July 7, 1826.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, March 12, 1830.

toasts.⁸⁶ This procedure was continued for at least five years and revived in the 1840's. Montgomery politics ran the gamut from broad construction to nullification and from Jacksonian Democracy to Union Whiggery. John C. Calhoun, Martin Van Buren, and Henry Clay all paid their respects to Montgomery political thought by personal visits, while her own Lewis and Hilliard and Yancey either molded policies or rode the currents engendered by economic forces of black-belt agrarianism and constitutional abstractions of legal-minded constituents.

Montgomery did not vote for Andrew Jackson in 1824, though Alabama did. Montgomery "went fishing" in 1828 while North Alabama cast an unusually heavy vote for "Old Hickory." Anti-Jacksonism in 1832 appears to have been the cause of a second negative response registered in Montgomery County. Again there was no acceptable candidate, for Montgomery planters were not yet ready for Henry Clay. The vote, however, had increased to 716 for Jackson, the only nominated candidate for president. This was a vote of less than 47 per cent while three months before 1,548, or more than 99 per cent of the total possible votes, had been polled in an election of state legislators.⁸⁷

While in national politics no party alliance had been formed by 1832, in state and local affairs such was not the case. Montgomery had become distinctly a state-rights constituency. Dixon H. Lewis had nominated Jackson in the state legislature in 1828 while he condemned Adams for his anti-state-rights policies. News of Montgomery's light vote for his nominee in that year must have come as something of a shock to this youthful politician, for suddenly in 1829 he announced his candidacy for Congress as a Nullification-State-Rights Democrat and in August, Montgomery County gave him over 78 per cent of a 98 per cent vote.⁸⁸ State-Rights Democrats were elected to the state legislature in that year and again in 1830 and in 1831. In 1832 a local "Free Trade and State Rights Party" re-elected Dr. Samuel C. Oliver to

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, July 7, 1831.

⁸⁷ Comparison of Official Election Returns and U. S. Census Reports, 1830, 1840.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

the Alabama Senate and John Rugeley and Dr. Robert J. Ware to the lower house.⁸⁹

As the presidential election of 1836 approached, the majority of Montgomerians, being anti-Jacksonian state-rights men, determined not to vote for Jackson's "Prime Minister." Van Buren was defeated in this black-belt county as Montgomery for the first time voted the Whig ticket. Of its 1,667 votes 944 were cast for Hugh L. White of Tennessee, as approximately 91 per cent of Montgomery's white adult males voted.

By 1836 a majority of Montgomery County's voters thus had cast their lot with the Whig party. Here it remained as long as there was a Whig party. It may be concluded that had there been an acceptable opposition presidential candidate in 1828 or 1832 Montgomery County would no more have cast its votes for Andrew Jackson than it did for Van Buren in 1836 or than it had for the "Old Hero" himself in 1824.

Although Montgomery had become a Whig center, its Whiggery at first was largely an anti-Jacksonian manifestation. Indeed, during the late 1830's Montgomery's Whigs were as lukewarm toward Clay's "American System" as Montgomery's Democrats were toward Union Democracy. Both supported state rights; both detested tariffs; neither cared much for internal improvement at Federal expense; and neither particularly cared for a national bank, though the Whigs condemned Jackson's financial policy.

One reason for this constituency's strong state-rights tendencies in the 1830's may be seen in the controversy which arose between Alabama and the Federal government over the removal of the Creek Indians and conflicting theories concerning jurisdiction over the Indian lands. A bloody conflict with Federal troops was narrowly averted in 1833-1834 through the efforts of Francis Scott Key and tension was soon relieved.⁹⁰ But the abstract political issues were never settled to the satisfaction of ante-bellum Montgomerians. Here was a clear case of conflict between Federal and state rights.

⁸⁹ Montgomery *Alabama Journal*, August 7, 1832.

⁹⁰ Cf. Thomas C. McCorvey, "The Mission of Francis Scott Key to Alabama in 1833," in Alabama Historical Society, *Transactions* (Tuscaloosa, 1898-1906), IV (1901), 141-65.

In their interpretation of constitutional issues the Democrats and Whigs were in agreement. They united to re-elect Lewis to Congress in 1837, as they had in 1831, 1833, and 1835 before this Whiggish majority had assumed the title Whig. They had united to re-elect Governor John Gayle in 1833. They united to elect state-rights legislators. Both groups favored American expansion into the Southwest and both registered stern protest against the rising abolition crusade in the North.

The financial demoralization which swept the country in the closing years of the 1830's and the opening of the next decade produced a depression in Montgomery County which caused something of a realignment of political camps. The State Bank with its Montgomery branch was mismanaged and eventually destroyed. Subsequent condemnation of the Democratic policies aided the Whigs in Montgomery County to increase their majority from 56.6 per cent in 1836 to 58.3 per cent by 1840, while the Democratic majority in the state decreased during the same period from 55.1 per cent to 54.4 per cent.⁹¹ By 1840 party lines in Montgomery were much more clearly drawn than at any previous time. The Whigs were no longer an incoherent mass but were now a real political party united in condemnation of "Locofoco" financial measures. Seeing this, the Democrats, whose strongholds were particularly in the northern "hill counties" as well as the Tennessee Valley, determined to crush the rising danger of planter domination.

It is worthy of note that up until this time, and indeed later, the desires of the majority of Montgomery's planter class had been thwarted by an adverse poll on nearly every important state and national issue upon which the Alabama public or the legislature had voted. It is true that many Montgomery planters during the 1820's and the early 1830's had been Jackson men, but the majority were not. It is true that many Montgomery planters in the later 1830's and during the 1840's were Democrats, but the majority of them by 1836 were Whigs. As elsewhere in the South, these Whig planters owned "from two-thirds to

⁹¹ Comparison of Official Election Returns for 1836 and 1840.

three-fourths of the slave property" of their region.⁹² The planter element dominated in the Montgomery region because the majority of its white families were slaveholders and not because the small-farmer element was unfairly treated and trodden under the political heel of the planter. In the state at large the planters were in a minority, and indeed after 1822 appear never to have dominated state politics when large issues were at stake. Certainly in the period here under discussion the story of how the planter political interests were crushed by the domination of the poorer whites of Alabama hardly accords with the generally accepted thesis of "planter control" throughout the South. The Montgomery planter constituency suffered one defeat after another in their political battles.

During the 1820's there had arisen in the legislative halls of Alabama three questions of burning importance to black-belt planters. The desires of the Montgomery County planters were thwarted in each legislative decision. The state capital was removed in 1825 from Cahawba to Tuscaloosa;⁹³ in 1826 planter opposition did not prevent passage of a bill prohibiting importation of slaves to be sold in the state;⁹⁴ and the poorer counties' vote defeated a planter measure to prohibit whites from teaching slaves to read and write.⁹⁵

All during the 1830's the poorer farm counties had defeated time and again the desires of the planter element. As demonstrated above, the Montgomery constituency became Whiggish largely because the Whig party offered in itself a defense mechanism. Intrastate sectional measures in the 1840's helped cause a continued adherence to the national Whig party.⁹⁶

⁹² *Montgomery Alabama Journal*, September 2, 1850. Cf. Arthur C. Cole, *The Whig Party in the South* (Washington, 1913), 104.

⁹³ *Montgomery Alabama Journal*, November 25, December 2, 7, 1825; *Alabama House Journal*, 1825, p. 75. It is true that Tuscaloosa is immediately north of the black belt and also that many planters in the western part of the state favored Tuscaloosa because of the easy transportation, that town being located on the Tombigbee-Warrior system.

⁹⁴ *Alabama Acts*, 1827, pp. 44-45.

⁹⁵ *Alabama House Journal*, 1827, p. 209.

⁹⁶ During the period under discussion the northern counties constantly voted the Democratic ticket. Only in 1848 was there an exception: Lawrence County gave Taylor a majority of seven over Cass. Official Election Returns, 1848; *Montgomery Alabama Journal*,

In October, 1840, Montgomery found itself the "citadel of coon-whiggery," as it became host to a huge Alabama Whig rally. Two weeks later Harrison won over Van Buren by 323 votes as Montgomery cast a 97 per cent vote, but Alabama cast its seven electoral votes for the Democratic standard-bearers.⁹⁷ Nevertheless, when Harrison was inaugurated in 1841 a celebration was held in Montgomery to the tune of roaring cannon.⁹⁸

At this point the North Alabama Democrats decided upon drastic measures to crush the rising tide of planter political influence. They succeeded.

In the closing days of 1840 a general ticket scheme was adopted amid a storm of protest.⁹⁹ The *Alabama Journal* pronounced it a "massacre of monstrous injustice."¹⁰⁰ Even Calhoun when in Montgomery in 1841 condemned the measure.¹⁰¹ Five Democrats were, nevertheless, sent to the national lower house in 1841 when three of the five electoral districts were Whig. The Montgomery district voted for Henry W. Hiliard but Lewis was returned to Congress because the total state vote was 23,329 for the Democrat to 17,449 for "the right reverend Whig preacher."¹⁰²

The resultant storm of protest against North Alabama domination brought a repeal of the general ticket system in December, 1841, but the Democrats determined nevertheless to crush planter politics. Amid a din of confusion in the latter part of January, 1843, a gerrymander measure with a clause abolishing the three-fifths rule for counting slaves was carried. Unanimously Montgomery's Whigs approved a resolution condemning the "White basis" measure as "a plain and direct

October 28, 1840; Diary of Dr. H. V. Wooten (MS. in Alabama State Department of Archives and History).

⁹⁷ Total state vote: Van Buren, 33,820; Harrison, 28,257. Official Election Returns, 1840.

⁹⁸ Montgomery *Alabama Journal*, March 10, 1841.

⁹⁹ Cf. Garrett, *Reminiscences*, 138, 141, 143-44; *Alabama Acts*, 1841, pp. 41-42; Jack, *Sectionalism and Party Politics in Alabama*, 74-82.

¹⁰⁰ Montgomery *Alabama Journal*, January 13, 20, 1841.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, May 12, 1841.

¹⁰² The vote in the Montgomery district was 4,244 to 4,153 with no extant returns from Chambers County which in 1840 was 65.2 per cent Whig. Official Election Returns, 1840.

violation of the provision of the constitution of the United States."¹⁰³ The Whig *Alabama Journal* stated that the news of this "palpable impolicy . . . will come as grateful music" to the ears of abolitionists.¹⁰⁴

Attempts during the 1843-1844 legislature to revert to the "nigger basis" failed and the gerrymander measure of the Democrats appeared in 1843 to have crushed Alabama Whiggery. Nevertheless, the new Montgomery district was still Whig and remained so as long as there was a Whig party.¹⁰⁵

Meanwhile, it had become obvious to Alabama Whigs and Democrats alike that Montgomery, an important commercial and political center, had become the logical place for the state capital and so it was decreed on January 28, 1846. Seventy-five thousand dollars in city bonds were voted, and the town, which twenty-six years before had had trouble in raising eighty dollars for a log market house, experienced little difficulty in selling this bond issue in order to build and present to Alabama its capitol.¹⁰⁶

Thus, by 1846 Montgomery, now the state capital, had become the center of Alabama's political activity. Her citizens awaited with the nation the rising tide of the abolition crusade. Upon the eve of the Wilmot Proviso debates her citizens might well have taken stock of their political positions. They might have noted that the full effect of the presidential campaign of 1844 on their political thought had been to drive further apart the two parties which up until that time had been willing occasionally to join forces. The Democrats had once more moved further toward state rights while the Whigs were tending toward Unionism. Yancey, soon to be the undisputed leader of the State-Rights Democrats, was already electrifying his audiences by proclaiming that "Patriotism begins at home. It takes in first, those around one's own fireside; then his neighbors, those whom he knows best and loves most; then one's state, that protects him in his domestic relations, and

¹⁰³ *Alabama House Journal*, 1842-1843, pp. 396-98.

¹⁰⁴ *Montgomery Alabama Journal*, January 1, 1843.

¹⁰⁵ Official Election Returns, 1840, 1844, 1848, 1852, 1856.

¹⁰⁶ Records of the Corporation, Books A, D.

afterwards the people of the whole union."¹⁰⁷ To Hilliard, the conservative leader of the Whigs, such a philosophy appeared dangerous. It tended to undermine the security of the Union. But, while he advocated the principles of sound Unionism, he warned the North that the South would not tolerate curtailment of her rights; he pleaded for harmony in the Union. In Congress he cried out that, "In a country so extensive as ours, sectional jealousies and political divisions, organized upon geographical lines, are always alarming. It should ever be the aim of patriotism to repress them."¹⁰⁸

Here were two great orators, sincere, earnest, each loving his Southland, each dedicating himself to fight for its interest. The one believed in action for peace and security at home; the other decried disintegrating discordance which he saw threatening the Union. Each strove to convince his fellows that his philosophy was the wise course to pursue. Montgomery County listened to each in the 1840's. Montgomery and Alabama and the South were to listen and cheer in the 1850's. For Hilliard and Yancey were soon engaged in a hand-to-hand political combat, the one backed by conservative Union Whigs, the other carrying in his wake the rising tide of State-Rights Democracy. Their debates were brilliant; their logic clear-cut; their listeners tense. Montgomery by 1846 had already become an important center of southern political thought.

¹⁰⁷ Quoted by Hilary A. Herbert, "Alabama in Federal Politics," in *Memorial Record of Alabama*, II, 33.

¹⁰⁸ Henry W. Hilliard, *Speeches and Addresses* (New York, 1855), 166.

Notes and Documents

THE WAR DIARY OF JOHN ESTEN COOKE

EDITED BY JAY B. HUBBELL

The best-known American novelist to see active service in the Civil War was John Esten Cooke (1830-1886), who took part in the battles of the Army of Northern Virginia from Bull Run to Appomattox, where it is said he buried his silver spurs on the field so that they would not fall into enemy hands. At the opening of the war Cooke was an experienced professional writer with a considerable reputation. His best novel, *The Virginia Comedians*, had appeared as early as 1854. As a staff officer under General J. E. B. Stuart, he had an exceptional opportunity to observe and to understand important events as they occurred, and he saw much of the Confederate military leaders, particularly Stuart and Stonewall Jackson. He found it possible to continue his writing. The events of the war furnished him new and exciting materials to write about, and in spite of his military duties he published in the course of the conflict *The Life of Stonewall Jackson* (1863), and contributed numerous articles to Confederate newspapers and magazines, many of which were revised for his *Wearing of the Gray* (1867). He noted in his diary on November 15, 1864, that he had sent to the *Cornhill Magazine* in London fifteen sketches; these were presumably lost in the blockade, for the magazine did not publish them.

After the war Cooke made further use of his wartime experiences in *Hammer and Rapier* (1870), *A Life of Gen. Robert E. Lee* (1871), and in three historical novels: *Surry of Eagle's-Nest* (1866), *Mohun* (1869), and *Hilt to Hilt* (1869). Although these books were all hur-

riedly written, they give us vivid glimpses of the Confederate generals and of important battles. Cooke, however, was a romancer, and not a realistic novelist, a trained historian, or an expert on military affairs. Even had his training prepared him for describing the events of the war without a romantic coloring, he would still have been handicapped by his readers and his publishers, who expected from him the more conventional methods he had employed in his romances of the Revolution. Until Tolstoy showed the way and romance gave way to realism, American novelists did not picture war in the vivid, realistic manner of *Sevastopol* or *War and Peace*. To Cooke the soldier, however, the war itself was no romantic holiday. As he wrote in *Hammer and Rapier*, "Battle is a stern, not a poetical affair; the genius of conflict a huge, dirty, bloody, and very hideous figure,—not a melodramatic actor, spouting a part."¹ "I never liked the business of war," he said to George Cary Eggleston.

Gold lace on my coat always made me feel as if I were a child tricked out in red and yellow calico with turkey-feathers in my headgear to add to the gorgeousness. There is nothing intellectual about fighting. It is fit work for brutes and brutish men. And in modern war, where men are organized in masses and converted into insensate machines, there is really nothing heroic or romantic or in any way calculated to appeal to the imagination.²

In his *John Esten Cooke, Virginian*, Professor John O. Beaty quotes Cooke as saying: "If I get thro' this war I will have much to write of—if. My notes of the great trip with Jackson's army to Cold Harbor and back, are in my little book which I carry in my breast pocket—written on the field and fresh with the spirit of the moment."³ In a footnote Beaty adds: "The loss of this diary left the first two years of Cooke's war service largely unrecorded."⁴ This particular notebook, however, and another apparently not known to Cooke's biographer are among four such notebooks now in the Duke University Library.⁵ These note-

¹ John Esten Cooke, *Hammer and Rapier* (New York, 1870), 76.

² Quoted in John O. Beaty, *John Esten Cooke, Virginian* (New York, 1922), 109.

³ *Ibid.*, 77-78.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 77, n. 1.

⁵ The Duke University Library, however, does not possess all the manuscript materials used by Beaty.

books, approximately nine and one-half by four inches in size, contain entries in both ink and pencil, but none is completely filled. On the front cover of each notebook Cooke has indicated the period covered in it; added in brackets here are the dates of the first and last entry in each: (1) "Journals and Mem^a on the field chiefly. 1862 et seq." [June 28-July 21, 1862]; (2) "War Notes Jan. to May 12 1863" [January 26-May 12, 1863]; (3) "Notes. 1. Jan: 1864" [January 18-April 29, 1864]; (4) "War Notes Nov. '64-March '65" [November 14, 1864-March 26, 1865]. Cooke's notes cover twenty-six pages in the first notebook; fifty-eight in the second; thirty-six in the third; and seventeen in the fourth.

Cooke's war notes are less romantic than his novels, but they deal much less with important military events than one would have expected. With the exception of the earliest of the notebooks, nearly all the entries were written in camp in the winter when there was little fighting. "Hooker whipped out" was his only comment on the great victory of Chancellorsville, in which Jackson was killed; Gettysburg was not described; and even the death of Stuart was not mentioned. In the earliest of the notebooks, however, he wrote a vivid account (to be quoted later) of his own part in the Seven Days' Battle north of Richmond. In the other notebooks he gave some account of life in camp and recorded his visits to friends there and elsewhere. He frequently commented on the books he was reading and listed his wartime writings and the periodicals to which he had sent them. On February 1, 1863, Captain Cooke made one of his few comments on his official duties:

In this diary I don't take the trouble to put down my official transactions. They consist of receiving and approving req^{ns}—corresponding with Col. [B. G.] Baldwin, and the Brigade Ord[nance] officers; and supervising the ordnance rather than attending to details, which are left to my two sergeants and clerk—Aldrich, Gleason, and Booth. My philosophy is to give myself as little trouble as possible. I suppose I will be rated after the war as "only an Ordnance officer"—but I have really been aide de camp. That's not important tho'.

On March 15 of the same year, writing from Camp "No Camp" near Fredericksburg, he described his daily routine at that time, omitting all mention of official duties:

Wake about 8—find my fire burning and boots, cleaned with real Day & Martin, setting by it. Dress leisurely, gazing into fire with one boot on, or cravat in hand—an old weakness, this. Finish, and read my bible. Then say my prayers. Then if breakfast isn't ready, read a novel or paper or anything.

'Lige then rushes in violently with a coffee pot—breakfast follows—of steak and biscuits nearly invariably: a strong cup of coffee—no molasses now—and I commence the real business of the day, and charm of life, smoking and reading something.

This over I go to writing and write away till three or four—or I don't write. I ride out, to Col. Baldwin's, or elsewhere, and come back, and smoke and lounge in the tents till toward dark when dinner is ready—pretty much the same—a little stewed fruit being the sole addition.

After dinner, smoke, smoke—chat chat—or read read! voilà ma vie!—The storm rages and I must smoke!

Cooke was a better soldier than the casual reader might infer from the passage just quoted. As a sergeant he commanded a gun at the first Battle of Bull Run. During the Seven Days' Battle he was a first lieutenant attached to Stuart's staff. Stuart praised him in his reports⁶ of the famous raid of June 13-15, 1862, and of the battles which followed; and in July of that year Cooke was made a captain. Only his published criticism of the administration, it seems, kept Cooke from being promoted to major on the recommendation of Stuart and Robert E. Lee.⁷

A recurrent theme in Cooke's Civil War novels is the divided Virginian family in which some of the men fight for the Union while others defend the Confederacy. For this situation there was a real basis in the Cooke family. Cooke's uncle, General Philip St. George Cooke,⁸

⁶ These reports are published in *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 130 vols. (Washington, 1880-1901), Ser. I, Vol. XI, Pt. I, 1036-40; Pt. II, 513-23. Cited hereafter as *Official Records*. In his report of the raid Stuart refers to Cooke as "First Lieut. John Esten Cooke, ordnance officer, my principal staff officer for the occasion."

⁷ Beaty, *John Esten Cooke, Virginian*, 79-80.

⁸ After graduating from West Point, Philip St. George Cooke (1809-1895) served for many years in the West. He described his western experiences in *Scenes and Adventures in the Army* (1845) and *The Conquest of New Mexico and California* (1858). In *Cavalry Tactics* (1861) he embodied the army's new system of cavalry tactics. In the Peninsular Campaign he commanded McClellan's cavalry reserve of two brigades. His reports in the *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XI, Pt. I, 1008-13, suggest the difficulties he encountered while trying to intercept Stuart on his raid around McClellan's army. His period of active service came to an end soon after the Seven Days' Battle.

commanded a cavalry division in General George B. McClellan's army during the Seven Days' Battle. The General's only son, John Rogers Cooke II, was a Confederate soldier; and his son-in-law, General J. E. B. Stuart, commanded Lee's cavalry. Another Confederate soldier, the "Nat" or "Natty" of the diary, was John Esten Cooke's nephew, son of his brother, Philip Pendleton Cooke, the poet. On the part of John Esten Cooke and General Stuart there was some discussion as to whether General Cooke had made any real attempt to stop Stuart on his raid around McClellan's army. On March 10, 1863, Captain Cooke quoted Stuart as expressing the opinion that General Cooke had really tried to catch him on the Chickahominy. This John Esten Cooke did not believe. "Gen. Cooke was a man who would do his duty up to the handle!" said Stuart. "Granted—" noted the novelist, "but he was a poor cavalry officer if he couldn't find the tracks of 1500 cavalry in a big road, and catch them ten miles off in 12 hours!" Cooke added: "The Gen. [Stuart] says he was devoted to Gen. C[ooke] and he to him 'before the War.' Seems to think less bitterly of him."⁹ In the middle of the earliest of Cooke's notebooks there are some hastily scribbled "Notes for Gen. Jeb," which are followed immediately by a rewritten version of them entitled "Gen. Stuart's 'Raid.'" ¹⁰ Perhaps Stuart was curious to know what Lieutenant Cooke had been able to learn from inhabitants of the neighborhood¹¹ of the movements of his father-in-law during the raid, or possibly the novelist was merely taking notes for a newspaper sketch.

When Gen. Stuart passed around the enemy, on the Chickahominy, Gen. Fitzjohn [Fitz John] Porter, and Gen. [John H.] Martindale commanded the strong force at Mechanicsville; Gen. [George W.] Morell 20,000 men at Gaines' Mill, and Gen. [George A.] McCall and Gen. [John F.] Reynolds at Dispatch with

⁹ In the spring of 1866, while on a visit to New York, John Esten Cooke wrote that he had seen General Cooke "and was received with the warmest affection by him and Aunt as I expected." Beaty, *John Esten Cooke, Virginian*, 96. After the novelist's death in 1886, General Cooke presented to the Millwood Church a stained-glass window in memory of John Esten and Philip Pendleton Cooke. *Ibid.*, 157.

¹⁰ Cooke gives a vivid account of the raid in his *Wearing of the Gray* (New York, 1867).

¹¹ Cooke wrote in *Hammer and Rapier*, 75: "The writer of this page had been familiar with this locality from his youth."

10,000 men. Gen. Cooke was at Johnson's, one mile north of Old Cold Harbor with a brigade of Cavalry. As soon as Gen. Stuart appeared and charged at Old Church, they advertised Gen. Cooke of it, and he sounded to horse. The troopers however remained in the saddle from 11 A.M. to 2 P.M. He then started but returned without success to Cold Harbor. At about 10 at night, he took the road to the *White House* by Dr. Wat. Tyler's which the first division of the Cavalry was an hour and a half passing. Other bodies continued to pass all night. Col. [Richard H.] Rush of the Lancers followed too—a rough sett of men, each having a small red flag on his lance. Col. Rush himself a magnificent looking soldier. The troopers passed at a gallop, shouting "We'll catch 'em!"—Dr. Tyler's is 10 miles from Tunstall's.

They were away all Saturday, scouting around. Gen. Cooke returned to Cold Harbor about 8 on Sunday morning, sitting sidewise on his horse, and looking fatigued and perfectly miserable. The men said as he passed "There goes the General." Col. Rush returned by the same road at 11 on Sunday, and stopped in Dr. Tyler's porch to talk—looking as cross as a savage. When asked whether he had seen Stuart he said "Yes, he saw his rear guard just as it passed the Swamp. He (Stuart) had gone in at the back door." The officers were as angry and spiteful as possible.

Gen. Morell has been "on thorns" ever since the raid; and will not let a band play for fear of revealing his position to the rebel guerillas. As still as mice when the battery was erected at Mr's Price's. One of the shell[s] burst in Gen. [Daniel P.] Woodbury's tent—So much for the "few Guerillas."

The most important entries in Cooke's notebooks deal with the Battle of Gaines's Mill, or Cold Harbor, as Cooke called it.¹² Jackson had brought his army down from the Shenandoah Valley and joined Lee in an attack on McClellan's right wing.¹³ As a result of "the bloody defeat at Cold Harbor," Cooke wrote in his life of Jackson, McClellan had both to retreat and to change his base of supplies from the York to the James.¹⁴ During the battle Cooke was on Stuart's staff, and Stuart's cavalry was protecting Jackson's left.¹⁵

¹² This battle should not be confused with the battle which occurred at Cold Harbor in 1864.

¹³ Cooke wrote in *Hammer and Rapier*, 71: "On the night of the 26th of June, Gen. Stuart handed to the present writer a dispatch for delivery to a confidential emissary before daylight. It was directed simply, 'Gen. T. J. Jackson, Somewhere.' Ashland, within sixteen miles of Richmond, was this 'Somewhere.'"

¹⁴ John Esten Cooke, *Stonewall Jackson: A Military Biography* (New York, 1866), 242.

¹⁵ In his report of operations for the period June 26-July 10, 1862, Stuart listed the various units which he commanded: "My command on the morning of the 26th ultimo consisted of First Virginia Cavalry, Col. Fitzhugh Lee; Third Virginia Cavalry, Col.

Mem^a. on the Field.

Cold Harbor—June 28 [1862]. Under army tree Hd. Qrs.

Yesterday a hot fight—in it all day as far as aid to a cavalry Gen^l. could be. The shelling hotter than I eve[r] knew it.

At night "Stonewall" came and lay down between me & Gen. Stuart.

S. "Where is your staff, Gen^l?"

J. "Off somewhere in comfortable quarters—I am playing orderly tonight."

Again he—Jackson—said:

"Yesterday was the *most terrific fire* of musketry I ever heard." The cannonading was much hotter than I liked.¹⁶

Today the fight will doubtless be renewed with fury. We are whipping them. Yesterday I eat [*sic*] dinner in Gen. Cooke's Hd. Qrs. vacated. He pitched his tent in the yard—said Mr^s Johnson near here—and came in the house but once. His horse pickets was [*sic*] excellent.—*Pitié!*

June 29th

About to leave Old Cold Harbor. Here under the tree where night before last I heard S. and J. [Stuart and Jackson] discuss the situation & lay the plan now being executed, to cut off McClellan's retreat to the Pamunkey or James.

Went to Rich^d. last evening to change horses—mine broken down. Got a fresh one & follow with the staff this morning. The enemy burning everything at "White House."

A furious battle—I saw my dear boy Nat before and after—he had a button shot off the breast of his coat. I could have kissed the dirty noble, splendid youngster!

Poor [Lieutenant D. T.] Webster killed—[Major B. G.] Baldwin looking

T[homas] F. Goode; Fourth Virginia Cavalry, Captain [F. W.] Chamberlayne; Fifth Virginia Cavalry, Col. T[homas] L. Rosser; Ninth Virginia Cavalry, Col. W[illiam] H[enry] F[itzhugh] Lee; Tenth Virginia Cavalry, Col. J. Lucius Davis; Cobb Legion Cavalry, Col. T[homas] R[eade] R[ootes] Cobb; Jeff. Davis Legion, Lieut. Col. W[illiam] T. Martin; Stuart Horse Artillery, Capt. John Pelham; a squadron of Hampton Legion Cavalry, Captain Scrivener (attached to First Virginia); three companies First North Carolina Cavalry, Lieut. Col. [James B.] Gordon." *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XI, Pt. II, 513.

¹⁶ Compare Cooke's account of the same incident in *Hammer and Rapier*, 64: "At about two o'clock in the morning, between the 27th and 28th of June, 1862, two officers—one of them very illustrious, the other very obscure—had wrapped themselves in their blankets, and were falling asleep beneath this tree ["a lofty, rugged, and solitary oak, riven by cannon balls"] when a third personage, entirely unattended, rode up, dismounted, and lying down between the weary men, began to converse.

"'Yesterday was the most terrific fire of musketry I ever heard,' he said; and any one who had listened to the accents of that brief, low, abrupt voice, would have recognized it. The speaker was Stonewall Jackson; he was addressing General Stuart, and he referred to the bitter, desperate, and bloody conflict of 'Cold Harbor.'"

very blue—met him near the enemy's battery. [Colonel James W.] Allen too of the 2^d Va. [Infantry] with whom I shook hands in the morning "for the first time and the last time."

En route!
Memoranda:

Orapax July 2d [?] 1862

Left 1st Regt. Camp where Ordnance wagons were at sunrise June 27th — on Brook road—with D^r Eliason, to follow Gen. Stuart. Felt the way thro' Ashland, Hanover C[ourt] H[ouse] and by Branch's battlefield toward Mechanicsville. On roadside in some old pines met with 2^d Va. Col. [James W.] Allen, Jackson's Old Brigade and was introduced to him by D^r E. Shook hands with him "the first time and the last time"—he was killed in the afternoon. Looked for and found my dear boy Natty—dirty, gallant, smiling, my noble splendid fellow. Also Willie Randolph, Frank Whiting and the Clarke boys. The drum beat and I got into the saddle. Came to old building & saw prisoners—bucktails &c arriving. Rode on and reached 1st Cavalry. Dined hastily at M^{rs} Johnson's, small house in field—*Gen. Cooke's Hd. Qrs.* His tent had been in yard—he "came in the house only once." His Cavalry Pickets, posts &c excellent. He is wretched, they say, and hopes the first ball will kill him. Pushed on to small house, near (perhaps) Beulah Church. Found Gen. Stuart's staff, but continued with 1st Regt, finding the Gen. This was on road *in rear* of Old Cold Harbor Cavalry drawn up in fields there. Battle commencing hotly. Volunteered to go and find out what was the state of things. Galloped over, by Cold Harbor, to house used for hospital toward New Cold Harbor and observed and enquired. Returned and found Gen. Jackson sitting on a log near old tumble down log house in front nearly of C. Harbor. Old sun yellowed tilt forward cap, dingy coat.

"General, I am on Gen. Stuart's staff. He wishes to know your dispositions."

"Wait a moment"—briefly and courteously

"Gen. Stuart is just across there—he could ride over."

"Ask him to gallop over"—in same brief, *cut off* tones.

In the saddle, galloping back, met Stuart near the house. Heavy fire of shell, Jackson changed his position, Stuart talking with him. Then the hot battle. Cavalry moving and taking position. Met Alex[ander R.] Boteler¹⁷ who had

¹⁷ Alexander Robinson Boteler (1815-1892) was a graduate of Princeton, where he roomed with Cooke's brother, Philip Pendleton Cooke. After serving for a short time in the United States House of Representatives and the Confederate Congress, he became in 1862 a volunteer aide on Jackson's staff. He was praised in Jackson's report of the Seven Days' Battle. *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XI, Pt. II, 559. He was in the United States Department of Justice, 1881-1889. His oil paintings of Confederate leaders were bought by the Massachusetts Historical Society.

lost his coat—followed Stuart here, there, everywhere. Shells very quick and hot: evidently directed at Cavalry by signal man up a tree. Sent about with orders. [Captain John] Pelham¹⁸ with a gun sent forward into field to left of front of C. Harbor. Opened hotly—batteries of enemy replied. Shelling still hotter. Sent by Stuart to order up Cobb Legion—a squadron—to support Pelham. [Colonel Thomas R. R.] Cobb¹⁹ had changed his position, and gone into the woods to avoid the shells. Could find him nowhere. Galloped back to report and saw battery rushing from field by road in front of C[old] H[arbor] to rear. In five minutes some twenty shells burst around me—my exact range. Got out of it. Joined Stuart and Jackson near Tree Hd. Qrs. Pelham still fighting like a trump. Reported: Stuart, Jackson others & myself went forward toward Pelham—musketry terrible. Artillery duel in full roar. Shells hot and furious. Enemy's battery at last quieter. Sent to order battery to left of road to advance in echelon on hill to left of Pelham. Shell bursting among them. Capt^a [Colonel] Cobb—"all his guns but two had burst."—"Well, bring the two—limber to the front—forward."

"Where?"

"On the hill to the left."

"That's in front of our own guns."

"Come on—limber to the front—cease firing—I'll show you the position."

Galloped back. Enemy trying it last time. Firing terrible. Stuart and Jackson in thickest of it. Felt excited but no flinching [?] and remember my prayer "Bless and keep me and all whom I love. Preserve me, O blessed Father, but if it be thy will that I should fall, preserve my soul for Jesus my Redeemer's sake." Not flurried one particle—never cooler in my life. Laughing and voice steady—a sure sign with me. I never have lost selfpossession or *resolve* in any fight yet 'tho' I say it."

Night coming on—separated from Stuart—could barely distinguish persons with my glasses. To [Lieutenant] Jones Christian.

"Rather hot, Lt."

"Yes—very."

Found Stuart's flag-bearer, and one or two Escort. Stuck to me, as their

¹⁸ John Pelham (1838-1863), a native of Alabama, left West Point in April, 1861, to enter the Confederate army. On Stuart's recommendation he organized and commanded a battery of horse artillery. He was highly valued by Stuart, Jackson, and Lee. His death at Kelly's Ford in March, 1863, affected Cooke so deeply that for a time he discontinued his diary. "The Band in the Pines: Heard after Pelham Died" is perhaps Cooke's best poem. See also, the chapter in *Wearing of the Gray* entitled "Pelham 'the Gallant.'"

¹⁹ Thomas Reade Rootes Cobb (1823-1862) was a younger brother of Howell Cobb. This able lawyer had no military training, but he organized "Cobb's Legion" and served with such distinction that in November, 1862, he became brigadier general. He was killed at Fredericksburg in December of the same year.

Com'dg officer. Shelling awful—whiz! whis-is-is-is-is-bang! bang! whiz! bang! whizzzz!—whirr-rr-rr!

"Captain we had better go to the rear—hadn't we?"

"No we had better go forward."

Went forward. Night. Our guns belching flame, and throwing shovel fulls of fire [*sic*] cinders from muzzles. Enemy's battery silenced: found Stuart—rode forward with him and Jackson to where the enemy had fired the fence and bushes on left of road to draw our fire.

Rode back with Gen. Stuart to Cold Harbor. Ordered to take com'd and inform Cavalry of position. Man run over by wagon—well jammed. Stuart returned, and we laid down under the first big tree on the right going toward Mechanicsville.

That night heavy firing again, and Jackson lying between me and Stuart consulting what road to follow and cut them off. Forgot to say that when we were at the burning fence on side of road, D. H. Hill's men were heard cheering as they ran the enemy down the big hill where their 12 guns were—just above the abattis which our men charged, over a deep stream, and took—then the battery.²⁰

Next morning, mounted to follow the Gen. with Staff, but he ordered us to remain and galloped off to Jackson. Went with Capt. [Heros] Von Borcke²¹ to New C[old] H[arbor] turned to left on Roslyn road, and saw my dear boy Nat, with his coat torn in the breast by a ball which cut a brass button in two. I have it. Dead Yankees as thick as leaves. Hundreds of red legged Zouaves lying on their backs—toes up. No pity for them—thinking of Nat. My boy smiling and modest.

Forgot to say, met Jackson at New C[old] H[arbor]²² who directed me to 1st Brigade. Came back, found Gen. Stuart gone, Staff & A. A. Gen. [Von Borcke] remaining under tree—(Message from Stuart to take charge of Art[illery] taken from Enemy—turned over to Gen. Hill) horse broke down—determined to go and get Carson's²³—set out about 12 or so. Took Mechanicsville & Strawberry hill road—met Patterson on Brook—went to Rich^d mounted sorel—saw mammy—started back—reached Tree Hd. Qrs. toward 11 P.M. (30

²⁰ Cooke has drawn a line to indicate that the closing sentences in this paragraph should have been placed just before the preceding paragraph. In *Hammer and Rapier*, 84, Cooke stated that Jackson remarked as he looked over the ground the day following the charge: "The men who carried this position were soldiers indeed!"

²¹ Captain Heros Von Borcke, a German soldier, was at this time Stuart's assistant adjutant general. He was highly praised in Stuart's report of the Seven Days' Battle. *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XI, Pt. II, 522. He published his *Memoirs of the Confederate War for Independence* (Edinburgh, 1866), in two volumes.

²² Pencil marks in the diary indicate that this sentence (with perhaps some of those that follow it) belongs after the words "New C. H." in the preceding paragraph.

²³ In his report of the raid Stuart commended certain members of his "escort," including Private Carson of the Jeff. Davis Legion.

or more mile) Next morning rode over battle field with [Lieutenant D. A.] Timberlake &c—saw 20 or 30 dead horses where their battery was, above the terrible ditch and abattis—found Jackson sitting on a log with Maj. [William H. C.] Whiting—Shook hands and enquired Stuart's direction—White House—followed with party—took up Yankee prisoners, man and Jimmy Riley whom—J. R.—I left at Hopkins' Mill—stopped to snack at pretty Misses Baker's house—pushed on and reached White House,²⁴ finding the Gen. and—the flies.

Collected arms—eat everything that ever was eaten—will not *try* to describe the wild, tragic, loathsome Chaos, of Sutlers' houses, tents, hospital tents, cars, stores burning and smelling an awful stench. Put my arms in a wagon with pressed team—turned it over to Lt. Waller of 9th [Va.] Cav^y. Started after the Gen. with Stuart and found him near Dr Crumps with 1st Regt. Followed to Mr^s Crump's then *tried* to go on but found my horse about to founder.

The Gen. went on—I stopping to try and get a horse from Mrs. Stanhope Crump's. None. Went to Freeman Clark's on hill beyond—Extraordinary scene—Clarke [*sic*], son 16 year old, Mr^s Clark, Miss Clark—all wringing their hands, all crying, all wailing piteously, clamorously "DON'T take our horse!" Ohhhh! DONT take our horse!" *ad infinitum* and *ad nauseam*. I told Clark he was as great a baby as his son, and finding that the words "Madam, I don't intend to take your horse" impressed no idea on Miss Clark's mind, I turned round and went back. Mr^s Crump—Dr—wasn't quite as gracious as when Gen Stuart was present—lent me a horse with some difficulty—old, white, hard going—to ride to Bob's [?] for another & I left mine, whom I could not make travel *one mile an hour with the spur*. He could not have *walked* in fact one mile more possibly. Came here—sent that old idiot Ben for Carson's horse—he stole or lost my saddle—returned last night—and here I am, in the midst of a drenching rain, about to start myself. Sent Betty who brot my horse.

Was Stuart at the heavy fight last evening? I don't know. I was not. But Mon General, "thou can't not say I did it." 'Twas the horse I mounted in an evil hour.—Dear Sal,²⁵ charmed to see me, and I her.

God protect my dear boy Nat whom I nearly kissed yonder.

A hot, tremendous battle was Cold Harbor. The "On to Richmond" lags, Gen^l. McClellan!

Major Phillips'—Charles City

July 6. 1862

Rode all night to get here to the big fight which don't come off. McClellan burrowing under protection of his gun boats—eheu!

²⁴ The White House on the Pamunkey River was McClellan's base of supplies at the beginning of the Seven Days' Battle. In his report of the battle Stuart wrote: "Col. W. H. F. Lee, the proprietor of this once beautiful estate, now in ashes and desolation, described the ground and pointed out all the localities to me." *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XI, Pt. II, 516.

²⁵ Cooke's sister Sarah (Cooke) Dandridge, who lived in Richmond.

Find my return create a sensation. News reached Hd. Qrs. a day or so after my horse broke down at Crumps, that Captain Cooke with another officer had picked up some Yankee stragglers in that region, and proceeded toward Long Bridge where 200 of the enemy fired on the unfortunate Captain killing him out & out. They then took off his boots and buried him. All beli[e]ved it—Capt Von Borcke says he cried, and wanted to go after my remains—[William D.] Farley²⁶ too.

Not this time mes amis! Here I am writing on the grass under the locusts the Gen sleeping yonder.

Nearly all the entries in Cooke's second notebook are headed Camp "No Camp," on the Rappahannock below Fredericksburg, where he spent the winter of 1862-1863. There are occasional references to Stuart and Jackson. On January 31 he noted: "Gen. Lee says he 'wishes he had a dozen Jacksons for his Lieutenants.' Gen. S[tuart] again repeats that 'Jackson is a man of *military genius*'—and I reply 'That hits it exactly: he certainly has the knack of whipping the Yankees!' I believe I am regarded as the *Jackson Man* of these Hdqrs." On March 26 he wrote of Jackson, who was visiting Stuart: "He is now there, chatting. What a curious eye he has—as brilliant as a diamond! He is a hero." After Jackson's death Cooke entered an undated passage labeled "(Historical)":

[General Thomas L.] Rosser told him [Stuart] last night that Jackson on his deathbed had expressed a desire that he, Stuart, should succeed him, in the command of his corps.

Gen. S. said

"I would rather know that Jackson said that, than have the appointment."

Greatly as Cooke admired Jackson's military genius, however, Stuart was—along with Turner Ashby—his favorite. On February 4, 1863, he wrote: "Spent an hour with the Gen. in his tent: recalling old battles. His resemblance to Longstreet is very striking: and his gayety amazing." On January 27 he noted: "Banjo going as usual in the Gen's tent—but I believe I won't go. 'Something too much of that.' " Then referring to one of his earlier pseudonyms, he added: "The Gen. has tracked me as 'Tristan Joyeuse Gent.' and laughs much at him. Knew

²⁶ See the chapter on "Farley 'the Scout,'" in *Wearing of the Gray*.

him by his 'mighty meerschaum' he says." On March 10 Cooke referred to Stuart's reaction to a poem which Paul Hamilton Hayne had written: "Talked a good deal with him, and he read me a letter to Paul Hayne in answer to Paul's sending 'Stuart' in which he nudged Paul about not being a soldier. 'That's Stuart's way.'" On March 8 Cooke wrote: "Came back [from Richmond], and have been a little blue. The Gen. came and chatted with me: He is charming when he throws off business. He said of little Flora's [Stuart's daughter] death. 'I shall never get over it. It is irreparable.' Never spoke of it but once, to me." On January 29 Cooke recorded in some detail one of his conversations with Stuart:

Dropped in at the Gen's to see cousin F.²⁷ but she had gone. Chatted, Gen. asking my opinion about Northern news. [On the day before Cooke had written: "The papers indicate increasing disruption at the North. Heaven confuse their counsels."] "I think" I said "there'll be a great big thundering spring campaign, and then it will end." Gen. replies "If there is a spring campaign it will last through the year, and if so, it will go on to the end of Lincoln's time." It strikes me that the high officers of the Army, *perhaps* are agreed among themselves to discourage *peace* reasoning—and they are right. War requires nerves always *strung*: there must be no looking forward to peace and ease: that *unstrings*.

We talked about Lincoln and I said he had "a great deal of muscle, and was pig headed."²⁸ The Gen. agrees and says "he has what they call iron nerve—but is not a man of ability." But this is not what I meant to set down. This was the part of the conversation which I listened to attentively.

Gen. S. "Do you know what Gen. Lee's object was at Richmond?

I. No.

Gen. S. He was building the fortifications there, in order to hold Richmond with a small force, and then attack McClellan's right flank. I was in favor of attacking his left flank, on the Charles City Road."

I. From what point, General?

Gen. S. Well, from about White Oak Swamp.

I. Would you have had space enough?

Gen. S. Yes: but the other was best. McClellan ought, when we advanced on his right flank, to have struck right for Richmond.

I. He hadn't the nerve. Napoleon would have done it.

Gen. S. McClellan was not the man for the occasion. His Maryland campaign

²⁷ Mrs. Flora (Cooke) Stuart, the General's wife and Cooke's first cousin.

²⁸ The last four words have been crossed out with a pencil; the original is in ink.

was full of faults too. He ought to have pressed on McClaws [Major General Lafayette McLaws] after Boonesboro'. That was a great oversight. If Harper's Ferry had not surrendered, we would have been in a bad way."

The Gen. has got his banjo and is gone out frolicking. He's a "jolly cove!"

The third of Cooke's notebooks contains little of interest to anyone except the student of Cooke's wartime writings. There are brief references to Robert E. Lee and William Henry Fitzhugh ("Rooney") Lee. On April 1, 1864, Cooke noted that "The whole Lee family are delightful people to me—personally. I take to them as to kin." And later on the same day he added: "There is something charming about the Lees to me: they are highbred." On March 9 of the same year Cooke had written:

Today Gen. [Williams C.] Wickham spent several hours with us and Mr^s Stuart, Mr^s Berkeley, he, Capt. [Thomas M.] Garnett &c. dined. Gen. R. E. Lee was here before dinner in his old blue cape, and Mr^s Stuart told him laughingly how I had "dodged a little too far" (off my horse) "at Cold Harbour." "Don't tell Gen. Lee that" I responded [?] *cum risu*: but he said "That's right—you dodge as many as you can, Captain." He's a fine old gentleman.

The entries in the last of the notebooks are headed " 'The Cedars'—near Petersburg." On November 15, 1864, he wrote: "Lincoln elected: all right. More war—tedious but necessary." On March 8 of the preceding year Cooke, who cherished little hatred for the enemy, had written: "The war grows in bitterness, and looms larger and darker. So be it. I for one intend to die fighting them, if necessary. It is better than having my neck under a blackguard's heel." In his last notebook, however, Cooke referred to the events of the war as little as possible. A passage, dated February 11, 1865, indicates the philosophy of life which he had developed after nearly four years of active service:

Cedars

Feb 11 '65

Just read Leigh Hunt's Life. He was honest kind, accomplished, but wanted muscle.

His old age like many others was clouded.

How to make manhood and age happy? Here it is.

Avoid *passion*, that is, not feeling (have as much as possible) but wearing, tearing *passion*. Be calm, steady, moderate. Make the most of simple pleasures,

and small enjoyments. First and foremost cultivate hygiene. Half of the ills of life spring from want of exercise, irregularity in eating or drinking—late hours etc. *Be regular*—be calm: be a philosopher. If anybody says "The Yankees are charging us!!!" with all the horrors in his voice: ask "Where did you say they were?" Get in the saddle but keep cool.²⁹

Don't be flustered. Don't hate or envy. They are dark sins—they are also *unhealthy*. Nothing is more wholesome than kindness. Be kind to all, and of modest Simplicity—not humble, not proud: courteous: the considerate gentleman. The French say you can't be too humble before God, or too defiant with men. It is only true—the latter—in the sense of defying their foolish opinions of you, to dishearten you. Be Just and fear not.

Excess, irregularity, hurry, frustration—are the hugest follies. Be regular, calm, cool,—they will soon become habits. I wish what poor Pelham said of me was true—that he named his horse after me because all his spurring in battle couldn't *hurry him*.

Be kind; be *pure*. love all—don't bite anybody but rascals on occasion, and then use all the teeth.

Be cool, calm, considerate. Eat regularly, sleep regularly, drink moderately or never—smoke temperately: read, talk, write, ride—fill up your day: read your Bible, and fall asleep—by *ten*. Rise early & da capo.

Make God the first and last.

SHIPMENTS OF SLAVES FROM THE UNITED STATES TO CUBA, 1789-1807

BY D. C. CORBITT

During most of the time that Spain possessed a colonial empire in America she depended on contracts with companies, countries, or individuals to supply her colonies with Negro slaves. The Portuguese, Dutch, French, and English successively enjoyed the fruits of the coveted contracts, while here and there a Spaniard was admitted to the circle. Instead of giving the colonial planters all the slaves they wanted, the contracts, by specifying the number to be imported, prevented the importation of sufficient Negroes to supply the demand. The deficiency was made up in part by widespread smuggling, but in spite of contrac-

²⁹ "He [Cooke] finally reached the stage where he would continue to eat from a plate standing by his horse until a hostile scouting squad was within two hundred yards, and then toss down his coffee and gallop away." Beaty, *John Esten Cooke, Virginian*, 83.

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tors and smugglers (and often the same person acted both roles), the Spanish colonies were far behind the neighboring possessions of other European powers in the number of Negro slaves. The turn of the last quarter of the eighteenth century saw the Spanish West Indies with a majority of whites in their populations, while in the nearby French and British islands the blacks outnumbered the whites many times. One authority estimated the ratio at nine to one.¹

With the last half of the eighteenth century came a rapid weakening of Spain's restrictive commercial policy. The slave trade was not the first item to feel the results of the changing system, but it was the first to drop all the shackles that bound it. The last slave importation contract was signed on March 29, 1786, with the Liverpool firm of Baker and Dawson, which had a branch in Cádiz. The English firm promised to transport to Havana and Caracas five or six thousand slaves, the royal treasury to pay for them at 150 pesos each. The contract was renewed for a period of two years. It was not exclusive, however, and during 1787 two former captains general of Cuba received permits to introduce 300 Negroes each. Early in 1788 Baker and Dawson tried to get a new contract which would allow them to sell 3,000 African Negroes annually for a period of six or eight years, to the exclusion of all other foreigners. Cuban planters, however, were clamoring for more slaves, and the pretensions of the company called up strong opposition from the municipal government of Havana and from the planters and businessmen of the whole island. The municipality carried the fight to Spain through its agent at court, Francisco de Arango y Parreño.

Not only did Arango turn the tide against the proposed contract, but he secured the removal of almost all restrictions on the slave trade. On his initiative a royal *cédula* was promulgated on February 28, 1789, which permitted Spaniards to import Negroes into the Spanish islands from anywhere, free of duties. Foreigners were to be allowed to intro-

¹ Jacobo de la Pezuela, *Diccionario geográfico, estadístico, histórico de la isla de Cuba*, 4 vols. (Madrid, 1863-1866), II, 282-300. The majority of whites in Cuba was small, but, nevertheless, a majority. The census figures are as follows: in 1774, whites, 96,440, and blacks, 75,180; in 1787, whites, 96,610, and blacks, 79,557. Fernando Ortiz, *Los negros esclavos* (Havana, 1916), 22-23.

duce Negroes for two years, duty free, but were to pay duties on products taken out in exchange for the slaves. Foreigners, however, were allowed only twenty-four hours to dispose of their slaves and were restricted to the use of the port of Havana. Spaniards could land slaves at both Havana and Santiago de Cuba.

Meanwhile, the expanding agriculture of Cuba was calling for more and more laborers. Arango, still the agent of the municipality of Havana, pressed the government for a renewal of the *cédula* of 1789 on a more liberal basis, and on February 20, 1791, succeeded in obtaining an extension of two years. At the same time the limit for the sale of slaves by foreigners was increased from twenty-four hours to eight days. A few months later (November 24), the two years were increased to six. Thereafter, the laws permitting the free importation of Negroes were renewed periodically until 1820 when the legal trade was terminated by a treaty with England.²

The promulgation of the *cédula* of 1789 was the signal for vessels to swarm to Havana with slaves from the overstocked British, French, and Danish West Indies. Numbers of ships came directly from Africa, usually under the flags of England and the United States. Not the least interesting point about this new phase of the slave trade is the fact that the United States was well enough stocked to make a small contribution to Cuba's Negro population.

Information about the introduction of slaves into Cuba during 1789 and the early part of 1790 is difficult to obtain. The files of the *Papel Periódico de la Havana* do much to supply the deficiency after October 24, 1790, when the paper was founded. In one of its early numbers the following appeared in the shipping section:

On November 1, 1790 the American Schooner *Fideliste* Captain Duncan Wild: proceeding from Charleston with 35 Negroes of both sexes.³

² José Antonio Saco, *Historia de las esclavitud de la raza africana en el Nuevo Mundo y en especial en los países americano-hispanos*, 4 vols. (Havana, 1938), II, 259-92; III, 1-33; Ramón de la Sagra, *Historia económico-política y estadística de la isla de Cuba* (Havana, 1831), 10-15, 254-55; Pezuela, *Diccionario*, II, 282-300; José María Zamora y Coronada, *Biblioteca de legislación ultramarina*, 6 vols. (Madrid, 1844-1849), I, 123; III, 108-20.

³ *Papel Periódico de la Havana*, November 7, 1790. In translating the news items no attempt has been made to translate the names of ships or captains.

Later in the same month this item was published:

From Baltimore on [November] 25 the Schooner Santa Catarina, with 55 slaves of all classes, Negroes, *chinos*,⁴ and mulattoes. Sale will be opened on the 28th of this month, in the street of the coopers No. 117: Captain Antonio Cantor.⁵

No other entries of ships with Negroes from the United States appeared in 1790, but the following were reported for 1791:

From Virginia the Sloop Maria, with 16 head of Negroes 12 males, and 4 females: Captain William Groton.⁶

From Virginia on [March] 4 the English Schooner Betsey, with 28 Negroes: Captain John Than.⁷

From Charleston on [April] 11 the English Sloop Arte, with 21 Negroes Captain Tomás Alsibal.⁸

From Baltimore on [June] 24 the Schooner Santa Catalina, with 40 Negroes. Its Commander Don Antonio Alcántara.⁹

From Charlestown [*sic*] on September 23 the Schooner Margarita, with 55 Negroes of both sexes: Captain Ignacio Ronquillo.¹⁰

From Virginia on October 10 the Schooner Santa Barbara, with 6 Negroes: Captain Francisco Lemos.¹¹

From Baltimore on [December] 25 the American Schooner Sansanti: it brings 35 *negros bozales* of both sexes: Captain Simon Blanco.¹²

Negros bozales is Spanish for Negroes fresh from Africa. The use of the term here throws some light on the source of some of the slaves that entered Cuba from the United States. How many others were recently from Africa, it is impossible to say, but the use of *chinos* and mulattoes in one of the items shows that not all the Negroes were *bozales*. Whether they were born in Africa or the United States, the fact is that the demand for Negroes in the United States was not great

⁴ In Cuban parlance *chino* referred to one shade of mulatto. It is still used for that purpose but is also used to refer to the Chinese who began to enter Cuba in 1847.

⁵ *Papel Periódico de la Havana*, November 28, 1790. The *Santa Catarina* was the same vessel mentioned in the later item for June 24, 1791.

⁶ *Ibid.*, January 6, 1791. Date of entry not given.

⁷ *Ibid.*, March 6, 1791.

⁸ *Ibid.*, April 14, 1791.

⁹ *Ibid.*, June 26, 1791. See n. 5.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, September 25, 1791.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, October 13, 1791.

¹² *Ibid.*, December 29, 1791.

enough to keep them there. And it might be added that Cuba attracted them at an average price of less than 300 pesos each for prime slaves.¹³

The files of the *Papel Periódico* for January to June, 1792, are not available. We pass, therefore, to the second half of that year. Notices about American ships from Africa and the West Indian ports are rather numerous, but there are few references to ships of any nation entering Havana harbor from ports of the United States. Nevertheless, four of the vessels from the United States carried slaves. The October 18 issue of our source contained the following items:

From Baltimore the privately owned sloop Nuestra Señora de Carmen, with 50 Negroes of both sexes: Captain Domingo Martinelli.

The American Schooner la Prestin, with 12 Negroes: Captain Genaro Nil.¹⁴

Other entries for 1792 were these:

From Baltimore on [November] 21 the American Schooner la Revolucion, with 20 Negroes: Captain Tomás Yinkin.¹⁵

From Boston on December 23 the American Schooner Margachuse, 5 Negroes: Captain Nuil.¹⁶

For lack of files of the *Papel Periódico* we are forced to pass over 1793, but the files for 1794 and 1795 are complete. The January 5, 1794, issue contained a statement to the effect that 4,595 *negros bozales* were introduced into Cuba during 1793. We are in the dark as to how many came by way of the United States and also about the number of others from the United States that were not fresh from Africa. For 1794 there is better information. In that year fifty-three vessels entered Havana harbor from ports in the United States. Only one is said to have brought slaves. The *Papel Periódico* for February 13 contained the following:

From Charleston in 8 or 9 days: the American Sloop la Lorenza with 4 Negroes: Captain Estevan Hernández.¹⁷

¹³ Prices of slaves advertised in the *Papel Periódico de la Havana* ranged from 200 to 400 pesos. Most prices were between 250 and 350 pesos. *Bozales* usually sold for 250 pesos or less.

¹⁴ The *Prestin* was also from Baltimore. Second entries from the same port were recorded without the name of the port.

¹⁵ *Papel Periódico de la Havana*, November 25, 1792.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, December 30, 1792.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, February 13, 1794.

The only item on the subject for 1795 is this:

From Carolina on October 6, 14 days out, the English privateer brig, el Conquista, coming to take on food, and bringing 6 French Negroes which it captured from that nation: Captain Juan [illegible].¹⁸

The six French Negroes can scarcely be said to have come from the United States though the privateer might have taken them there before going to Havana. It is more likely that they were captured on the way to Cuba.

No files of the *Papel Periódico* for the years 1796-1798 are obtainable. Judging from what is known about 1794 and 1795, it might be inferred that no more slaves were taken to Cuba after those years. There would then be a perfect "setup" to prove that Eli Whitney's cotton gin was able in two years to create a demand for slaves that was great enough to stop the small stream that was flowing outward. Unfortunately for this theory, later issues of Havana papers show that shipments did not stop with 1795. Here is a lone report for 1799:

On [August] 4 from Charleston in 14 days the American Sloop Spedwell, Captain Taylor, with 13 Negroes to Bombalier.¹⁹

Only scattered issues of the *Papel Periódico* are available for the period between September 29, 1799, and the beginning of 1804, and these report no slaves imported from the United States. The loss of the other issues is regrettable. With the opening of 1804 a steady importation of slaves was being carried on, and, in view of South Carolina's reopening of the foreign slave trade in 1803, it would be interesting to know when it started. From the nearly complete files for 1804 the following items are obtainable:

On [February] 17 from New York the Brig Eloza [Eliza?], with six Negroes, to Jáuregui.²⁰

From Charleston [on February 25] the American Brig Maria, with five Negroes, to Hernandez.²¹

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, October 8, 1795.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, August 8, 1799. The files are complete for January 1, 1799, to September 29, 1799.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, February 23, 1804.

²¹ *Ibid.*, March 1, 1804.

From Charleston [on May 25] the American Frigate Eloza [Eliza?], with 10 Negroes, to Urria.

From Charleston on May 26 the American Brig Maria, with 12 Negroes, to Hernandez.²²

From Charleston [on June 13] the Bremese Frigate Méntor, with eight Negroes, to Urria.²³

From Charleston [on July 4] the American Brig Warren, with 4 Negroes, to Urria.²⁴

From Charleston [on November 4] the American Brig Leon, with 12 Negroes, to Gimbal.²⁵

From Charleston [on November 24] the American Frigate Baltic, with 12 Negroes, to Gimbal.²⁶

On November 27 from Charleston the American Brig Jane, with 12 Negroes, to Truxillo.²⁷

From Charleston on November 28 the American Schooner Fair, with 6 Negroes, to Latorre.

From Charleston on December 25 the American Brig Betsey Polly, with 12 Negroes, to Latorre.²⁸

The year 1805 was even more important than its predecessor, and fortunately only a few numbers of the *Papel Periódico* are missing for that year. Scarcely a vessel left Charleston for Havana without a few Negroes, and the following list will indicate that vessels were numerous:

From Charleston [on January 5] the American Brig Venus, with 7 Negroes, to Truxillo.²⁹

From Charleston on [January] 20 the American Frigate Rodeisland [*sic*], with 11 Negroes, to Latorre.

On [January] 21 from Sabana [Savannah] the American Brig Thetis, with 6 Negroes, to Latorre.³⁰

From Charleston on [January] 25 the American Brig Friendship, with 6 Negroes, to Comas.

From Charleston [on January 25] the American Brig Mary, with 6 Negroes to Latorre.

²² *Ibid.*, May 31, 1804.

²³ *Ibid.*, June 14, 1804.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, July 8, 1804.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, November 8, 1804.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, November 29, 1804.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, December [2?], 1804.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, December 30, 1804.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, January 10, 1805.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, January 24, 1805.

From Charleston [on January 26] the American Brig Trial, with 6 Negroes, to Latorre.³¹

From Charleston [on January 31] the American Brig Hiran [*sic*], with 6 Negroes, to Comas.

From Sabana [on February 2] the American Frigate Jire, with 7 Negroes to Hernandez.³²

From Charleston [on February 10] the American Brig Hiram, with 6 Negroes, to Latorre.³³

From Charleston [on February] 13 the American Schooner Juno, with 8 Negroes, to Truxillo.³⁴

From Charleston [on February 23] the Bremese Frigate Abler, with 12 Negroes, to Urrea.

From the same [on February 23] the American Brig Ploughboy, with 6 Negroes, to Truxillo.

From Charleston [on February 23] the American Schooner Fair Play, with 7 Negroes to Comas.

From Charleston [on February 24] the American Brig James William, with 38 Negroes to Urria.

From the same [on February 25] the American Brig America, with flour, wine, oil, codfish, and 6 Negroes, to Truxillo.³⁵

From Charleston [on February 26] the American Brig Maria, with six Negroes, to Gimbal.³⁶

[From Charleston on March 7] the American Sloop Industria, with flour, butter, and 8 Negroes, to Iriarte.³⁷

From Charleston on [March] 11 the American Schooner Huan, with 6 Negroes, to Pinillos.³⁸

From Charleston [on March 19] the American Frigate Experimento, with wine, rice, and 7 Negroes, to Pinillos.³⁹

From Charleston [on March 20] the American Frigate Susannah, with lumber and 8 Negroes, to Truxillo.

From Sabana [on March 20] the American Schooner Harbey, with lumber, flour, meat, and 6 Negroes, to Gimbal.⁴⁰

³¹ *Ibid.*, January 31, 1805.

³² *Ibid.*, February 3, 1805.

³³ *Ibid.*, February 14, 1805.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, February 17, 1805.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, February 28, 1805.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, March 4, 1805.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, March 10, 1805.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, March 14, 1805.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, March 21, 1805.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, March 24, 1805.

From Charleston [on March 29] the American Brig Merchant, with soap, lumber, hoops, staves, and two Negroes, to Nagle.⁴¹

From Charleston on [April] 23 the American Brig Venus, with clothing, wine, beer, and 6 Negroes, to Truxillo.⁴²

From Charleston on [April] 27 in 11 days the American Brig Minerva, with 101 Negroes, to Cruet.⁴³

[From Baltimore on May] 23 in 17 days the American Brig America, Captain Andros Eherenstrosa, with wine, oil, and 6 Negroes, to Gimbal.⁴⁴

From Charleston on August 8 in 15 days the American Schooner Dandy, Captain Nicolas Derreil, with butter, lumber, wine, and four Negroes.⁴⁵

From Charleston on December 4 in 10 days the American Frigate Armed Neutraliti [*sic*], Captain Juan Caruth, with 10 Negroes, to Drak [*sic*].⁴⁶

The three or four issues of Havana papers that are available for 1806 mention no importations of Negroes from the United States. This information is not sufficient for safe deductions. In fact, all other evidence points to a continuous influx of Negroes during that year. The year 1805 was something of a banner one, and when the curtain is lifted by the complete files of the *Papel Periódico* for 1807, Negroes were coming at about the 1805 rate. It is, therefore, difficult to believe that none were imported in 1806. Here are the reports for 1807:

From Charleston [on January 3] in 30 days the American Brig Mary, Captain Raph [*sic*] Barber, with 13 Negroes, to Cuesta.⁴⁷

From Charleston [on January 21] in 13 days the American Schooner Famosa Voltaire, Captain Joseph Vales, with seven Negroes, to Perez.⁴⁸

From Charleston on February 2 in 8 days the American Sloop Julia Ana, Captain Zephaniah Gravis, with flour, wine, cheese, chinaware, potatoes, onions, and 10 Negroes, to Gimbal.

February 3. From Charleston in 11 days the American Schooner Resolution, Captain Benjamin Pearson, with rice and 50 Negroes, to Drake.⁴⁹

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, April 4, 1805.

⁴² *Ibid.*, April 28, 1805.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, May 2, 1805.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, May 26, 1805.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, August 20, 1805.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, December 8, 1805.

⁴⁷ *El Aviso*, January 8, 1807. In 1807 the *Papel Periódico de la Havana* changed to *El Aviso* with *Papel Periódico de la Havana* as its subtitle. In 1809 it became *El Aviso de la Habana* with *Papel Periódico Literario-Económico* as a subtitle.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, January 27, 1807.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, February 10, 1807.

With the fifty arrivals on the *Resolution* shipments of Negroes from the United States to Cuba came to an abrupt close. Congress was then considering the prohibition of the foreign slave trade and a month later (March 2, 1807) voted to make January 1, 1808, the deadline. In the face of this law, and with the demand for slaves growing rapidly, such states as Georgia and South Carolina dared not permit the departure of any more Negroes. Besides, the rapidly developing West was beginning to call for any slaves that the seaboard states could spare. An indication of the changing situation is found in this item from the shipping column of the paper that reported the last Negroes to arrive from the United States:

For New Orleans the American Frigate John Jones, Captain Fittermay, with 217 Negroes.⁵⁰

Nor did such notices cease with the legal slave trade. Witness the following reports:

April 14, [1808]. For New Orleans the American Schooner James, Captain James Shearman, with 43 *negros bozales*.⁵¹

For New Orleans the American Frigate Franklin, Captain Andrew J. Ehrenshion, with rice, house furniture, and 45 Negroes.⁵²

It would be interesting to know how these Negroes were landed in New Orleans.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, May 5, 1808.

⁵² *Ibid.*, September 28, 1809.

Book Reviews

Three Virginia Frontiers. By Thomas Perkins Abernethy. (University, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1940. Pp. xiv, 96. \$1.50.)

This small volume is made up of three essays that were presented at Louisiana State University in February, 1940. They constitute the Fourth Series of The Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History. The titles of the three essays are: "Tidewater"; "Piedmont and Valley"; and "Kentucky." The guiding thought behind the lectures is that the frontier influence was but one of several that have played parts in American history. Professor Abernethy, while not antagonistic to Turner's emphasis on the "Significance of the Frontier in American History," believes that supplementary facts require at least equal attention. With this conviction, he has attempted to make case studies of five geographic areas (Tidewater, Piedmont, Valley, the West Virginia region, and Kentucky), dealing with each while it was passing through the frontier stage. In connection with each area, enough valuable information is presented to justify the preparation and publication of the essays, regardless of the accompanying conclusions. In other words the little book is rich in factual content.

Virginia furnished a large number of colonists to Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, and Tennessee, along with a smaller number to the Lower South, but Professor Abernethy was not interested in the general westward movement from the Old Dominion. His object was to set forth his findings in reference to successive frontiers that were actually within the confines of Virginia. He held rigidly, perhaps too rigidly, to his purpose with the result that we have a definite study of the operation of the various forces that contributed to the outcome in the areas treated. The facts and conditions discovered prove that the influences that shaped the history of each of the frontier areas were complex. Conflicting interests were always present. People carried to each new area customs and traditions, and were, in each instance, under legal restraints exercised by a distant government. Primitive conditions exercised an influence but such conditions disappeared in time, and even when strongest did not always play a leading part. These are truths revealed by the study of each separate Virginia frontier.

Professor Abernethy has not thrown the Turner Thesis into the discard, but he has attempted to supplement it. He states his conviction thus: "It will not be safe to generalize about the significance of the frontier in American history until there are available . . . detailed studies of the various areas involved and

only a start has been made in that direction." On the basis of this belief, he justifies his study of the Virginia frontiers, the object of which has been "to trace the development of the conflict between European institutions and frontier conditions in one special area." Certainly only good can come from studies of definite frontier areas such as *Three Virginia Frontiers*.

Indiana University

WILLIAM O. LYNCH

Henry de Tonty, Fur Trader of the Mississippi. By Edmund Robert Murphy. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1941. Pp. xix, 129. Illustrations, map, bibliography, appendix. \$2.00.)

This book undoubtedly goes far to atone for the neglect of Henry de Tonty at the hands of historians and is a welcome addition to the publications of the *Institut Français de Washington*. The author has not attempted a complete biography, but has sought to present Tonty in the role of a fur trader in the Mississippi Valley from 1683 to 1702. Working largely from published materials he has first given an account of the early life of Tonty. Most of the book is given over to Tonty's career in America and the closing chapter is devoted to an evaluation of the imprint which he left on the Mississippi Valley.

The present reviewer is of the opinion that the author has not made the best use of available sources, especially as related to the fur trade. He is often far afield as in Chapter VI in which he discusses the Iroquois War in detail. In general, due to his evident failure to make use of available manuscript and published materials, he presents a very imperfect picture of Tonty as a trader. Scattered references to statistical information (e.g., pp. 60, 61) or to Tonty's engagements with individuals (e.g., pp. 28, 58) stand out sharply against the general narrative. While the difficulties of presenting any satisfactory picture of the trade as a whole are evident, a painstaking search of the notarial registers, council records, and general archival materials would shed much light upon the subject.

Errors are perhaps frequent enough to merit attention. Illinois does not boast the *only* place name in Tonty's memory as stated in the Introduction (p. xvii). The author's assumption of error in Pease and Werner's transcription of a certain phrase of Tonty's land grant to Jacques Cardinal (*Illinois Historical Collections*, XXIII, 396), made admittedly without his having seen the document, is bad. A photograph of the document now before me reveals that Pease and Werner are correct. Again, the author's assumption (p. 40) that Tonty probably built a fort on the Ohio is without foundation. Likewise, the suggestion that Fort Prudhomme "may have been continued as another link" between the Arkansas Post and the Illinois seems equally erroneous. Tonty did not meet Charles Juchereau de St. Denys at Michilimakinac in 1687 (p. 51). The person referred to is Nicholas Juchereau, father of Charles. The same applies to Juchereau's visit

to the Illinois in 1687-1688 (p. 57, n. 21). The statement that Iberville supported Juchereau's tannery project because it was economical for defense fails to consider the fact that Iberville had married into the Juchereau family (p. 84). The statement that Tonty's death occurred "shortly after September 6, 1704" would seem to be erroneous since Bienville's letter of this date announces it (p. 85 and n. 36).

The book has an attractive format and is reasonably well printed. Footnote forms could be improved. The Appendix contains some valuable materials relating to Tonty. There is also a serviceable index.

College of the Ozarks

NORMAN W. CALDWELL

The Expansion of South Carolina, 1729-1765. By Robert L. Meriwether. (Kingsport, Tennessee: Southern Publishers, Inc., 1940. Pp. ix, 294. Bibliography, maps. \$3.75.)

This compact volume embodies the balanced evaluations and sound conclusions of a mature scholar, who knows not only the written record but the physical characteristics of the terrain whereof he writes. Hill, stream, and valley have been studied with such care that the result is not a mere armchair treatment but a field survey of forgotten roads and settlement sites. With equal tenacity the movements of individual settlers from stream to stream have been noted through their land grants or by the occurrence of their names on militia rolls—a feature which should be of immense value to genealogists. To the historian the great contribution of the book is that therein the voluminous land records of the thirty-six most active years of the settlement of the province have been organized and interpreted.

Against the background of South Carolina in 1729 and Governor Robert Johnson's township scheme for settlement of the frontier at strategic points as a defense against Indians and rival colonizing empires, Professor Meriwether has sketched with more detail than ever before collected the actual processes of settlement at Purrysburg, Amelia and Orangeburg, Saxe Gotha and the Congarees, New Windsor and the Salkehatchie Forks, Williamsburg and Kingston, Queensboro and the Welsh Tract, Fredericksburg and the Wateree—showing us the people who came, their headrights, the acreage and location of their lands, inventories of their possessions, their means of livelihood, their culture, their perils, and sometimes relating anecdotes which reveal their manners and morals, or the lack of them. In touching upon the pioneers' reasons for coming, the author whets our curiosity, but he declines to be diverted into bypaths. In clear and interesting style he sets forth the predominating characteristics of each area, giving it a definite personality. The role of the middle country is shown as the link between the tidewater and the piedmont which made possible a unified state. The expansion of settlement into the back country beyond the town-

ships is described in excellent chapters on the northwest frontier, the Waxhaw and the Wateree, the Dutch Fork and the Upper Broad River. The narrative is rounded out with a social and economic view of the back country in 1759. Only those who have worked in the scanty records of this side of frontier life can appreciate such a task. The map of the Congarees in 1759 is a graphic illustration of the patience with which Professor Meriwether has assembled and fitted together scattered bits of information into a coherent whole.

The fine chapters on the southern Indians and their trade with South Carolina, and the Cherokee War clarify an obscure period of the state's history and give a new evaluation of the parts played by Glen and Lyttleton. Many opportunities here present themselves for horror stories, which the author has used with such nice discretion that he is to be commended as much for what he has omitted as for what he has included. The last chapter traces the growth of the back country in the period between the Cherokee War and the Revolution, when the later townships of the Savannah Valley, Boonesborough, Londonborough or Belfast, and Hillsborough were laid out and settled, and the elusive Belfast, which has plagued not only map makers but careful scholars, is finally identified. An outstanding achievement of the author is his authoritative figures on population, both slave and free, which he has compiled for a period for which no census was ever made.

The book is honest, accurate, and thorough, a major contribution to a field in which it will remain the standard reference.

Historical Records Survey

ANNE KING GREGORIE

John and William Bartram, Botanists and Explorers, 1699-1777, 1739-1823. By Ernest Earnest. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1940. Pp. vi, 187. \$2.00.)

The steadily growing appreciation of William Bartram and his writings was reflected two years ago in programs in various parts of the United States, principally in Pennsylvania and Florida, in commemoration of the two-hundredth anniversary of his birth.

Probably not unrelated to this increased interest in the life of a man who could produce a book of such universal appeal was the appearance last year of two volumes. The first was a reprint of Mark Van Doren's 1928 edition of Bartram's *Travels Through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida*; the other was a small, biographical and interpretive treatment of both John and William Bartram by Professor Ernest Earnest of Temple University. This latter volume is the second in a new series of biographies of less familiar figures in Pennsylvania history being published by the University of Pennsylvania Press. Its foreword is by Dr. Conway Zirkle, professor of botany in the University of Pennsylvania.

The author of this second volume soundly points out that before it is possible to evaluate the Bartrams and their achievements it is necessary to study them in their proper setting. They were fortunate in having lived in the eighteenth century when there was a widespread interest in botany, an interest which, he says, may be traced to three sources: (1) enthusiasm for gardening; (2) plant discoveries in America; and (3) the work of Linnaeus, the Swedish naturalist. These influences helped produce the cult of nature that characterized religion, philosophy, politics, and poetry throughout much of that century. The author further maintains that opportunities open to the Bartrams were undoubtedly exceptional, although the obstacles and hazards which they were forced to overcome were greater perhaps than may now be recognized.

The lives of these two energetic Quakers are of particular interest to the South. Rising above the provincialism of colonial life, William Bartram "exemplified that rarest of combinations," says Professor Lowes of Harvard, namely, "the mind of a scientist with the soul of a poet." Two years before the American Revolution, he set forth on his extensive travels through the Carolinas, Georgia, Florida, and the vast lands of the Cherokee, the Creek, and the Choctaw in quest of botanical specimens and data. These investigations consumed nearly four years and resulted in the publication at Philadelphia in 1791 of his *Travels*. Promptly recognized for its high merit, it was reprinted in England, Ireland, Germany, Holland, and France. Literary historians are generally agreed that it was Coleridge who rescued the *Travels* from scientific oblivion. Lowes maintains that probably none of the books read by Coleridge prior to his writing the *Ancient Mariner* so strongly influenced the English writer as did the work of this American scientist.

William's father, John, was one of the first scientists to demonstrate the sexuality of plants and became one of the first plant hybridizers. He was befriended in America by Benjamin Franklin and in England by Peter Collinson. The latter took such an intimate and paternal interest in John's welfare that he begged him to be careful of his personal appearance when journeying to Virginia so as not to "disgrace thyself or me; for though I should not esteem thee the less, to come to me in what dress thou wilt, yet these Virginians are a gentle, well-dressed people and look, perhaps, more at a man's outside than his inside. For these and other reasons," concluded John's English benefactor, "pray go very clean, neat and handsomely dressed to Virginia."

Professor Earnest presents in his volume an excellent though brief sketch of each of these Pennsylvanians through whose writings the natural life of the South in both the animal and vegetable kingdoms became generally known following the work of such pioneers as Catesby. Portraits of both men are reproduced, the one of William by Peale which hangs in Independence Hall. The source materials are drawn principally from the Bartram Papers in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Unfortunately numerous inaccuracies and an almost total neglect of natural history detract seriously from the otherwise high value of this book. It is difficult to understand how the author substantiates his statement of dealing more fully with John when he devotes more space to William.

This book will doubtless develop interest in the definitive studies of the Bartrams on which Dr. Francis Harper of the John Bartram Association of Philadelphia has long been working and which are scheduled to appear at an early date. The most important of these studies will be a scientifically revised edition of the *Travels*, including corrections of all previous editions and supplementary notes compiled by a repeated tracing of the famous journeys. Thus, many uncertainties and questionable identification of species originally described will be removed. In addition, there will be made available for the first time in print William Bartram's lengthy manuscript report to Dr. Fothergill, long preserved in the British Museum, and John Bartram's unpublished manuscript describing his journey of 1765-1766.

Rollins College

A. J. HANNA

Propaganda and the American Revolution, 1763-1783. By Philip Davidson. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941. Pp. xvi, 460. Bibliography, illustrations. \$4.00.)

Professor Davidson has based this study upon an *omnium-gatherum* definition by Leonard W. Doob. As paraphrased by Mr. Davidson, the Doob definition describes "propaganda" as "an attempt to control the actions of people indirectly by controlling their attitudes." This inclusive definition covers, presumably, all such attempts, whether honest or dishonest—whether good, bad, or indifferent.

In current usage, "propaganda" means something else. It has an odious connotation. It implies a conscious, directed effort to shape opinion—an effort made often by hirelings who are willing, if need be, to resort to falsehood and suppression, and who appeal to the emotions (frequently to the baser ones) rather than to reason.

Had Mr. Davidson written before 1914, the word "propaganda" would probably not have appeared in his book, and certainly not in the title. The World War brought the word into general use. It would have been sensible, therefore, when using the word now (especially in writing about a past war) to adhere to the conception which the World War popularized.

To base a historical study upon a definition which is so broad that it fails to define, which differs both from the dictionary definition and from the current popular meaning, and which has not been and could not be generally accepted, is a serious mistake—one that Mr. Davidson has made, with unfortunate results.

An illustration of Mr. Davidson's method will not be out of place. Take the word "corruptionist." It has a definite connotation to the ordinary reader. But

suppose that someone arbitrarily defined a "corruptionist" as a person who attempted "to control the actions of people indirectly by controlling their attitudes." Then, suppose that an author should proceed to call all the leading figures of a generation "corruptionists," intending, perhaps, no injury to reputations, because he believed in his own private definition. But would his readers keep in mind his private definition? Or would they keep in mind the popular meaning of the word? If they did the latter (as I think they would), the result would be to discredit every person who was called a "corruptionist."

If Mr. Davidson really intended to treat all attempts "to control the actions of people indirectly by controlling their attitudes," he should have written a comprehensive analysis of most of the utterances of the Revolutionary era. A correct appraisal of the influence of such utterances would require that the study should emphasize the outstanding writers—Dickinson, Otis, Jefferson, John Adams, Samuel Adams, Thomas Paine, James Wilson. An adequate treatment of the writing of such men would require a full account of their ideas, and would involve a great deal of repetition of commonly known facts. But, strange to say, Mr. Davidson has accorded the leading figures only passing attention, and has evidently sought to give the work the character of a contribution of new material by emphasizing the obscure (and not always admirable) writings of minor figures. This treatment of the subject exempts the author from the duty of evaluation. If one may dispose of the extremes of expression simply by classifying all utterances as "propaganda," how easy it becomes to dispense with judgment and discrimination! Scurrilous, abusive writings fall into the same category with the best achievements of great minds. Everything and everyone are reduced to the loathsome dead level of "propaganda."

An adequate treatment of the subject would have called for an appraisal of the influence of "propaganda." What, in specific instances, did it accomplish? In what circumstances was it most effective? What was the relation of the force of events and acts in the shaping of opinion, as compared with the force of "propaganda"? Answers to such questions would have been useful, but Mr. Davidson has not supplied them. "Propaganda," as he presents it, seems to have operated within a vacuum.

In treating "propaganda" as something independent—something to be described as one would describe types of buildings, something to be classified as one would classify flora and fauna—Mr. Davidson does not explain the situations that provoked expression. He does not concern himself with the question—were the utterances of the colonists justified? He does not concern himself with the convictions and the integrity of the "propagandists." He writes as if they made calculated appeals to well-defined emotions and interests and as if they used clever techniques, in a detached manner. They are therefore made to appear as manipulators of devices rather than as advocates of principles. They do not appear as men who were deeply moved by the dangers which confronted them,

who believed that great issues were at stake, and who spoke from conviction, often at the risk of their lives.

According to the Doob-Davidson definition, the Declaration of Independence was the foremost piece of "propaganda" of the Revolutionary era. Yet the Declaration is not mentioned in the book. Why? Has Mr. Davidson ignored the Declaration because he has had to shrink from applying an odious word to a sacred national document? If "propaganda" is what he says it is, there could be no objection to treating the Declaration as "propaganda"; in fact there is a most urgent and imperative need for such a treatment. By ignoring the Declaration, Mr. Davidson, at the central point of his study, has had to abandon his definition and thus to discredit his thesis. And if, by omission and implication, he has admitted that "propaganda" is odious, he has then become guilty of indiscriminate abuse of a whole generation of writers.

In writing this book, Mr. Davidson presumably hoped to exert an influence upon the people who might read it. For what, then, it is fair to ask, is he a "propagandist"? He has devoted nineteen chapters to the Whig-patriot "propaganda" and only four chapters to the Tories. He has thus discredited the patriots at the ratio of better than four to one. By discrediting the 1776 advocates of representative government, Mr. Davidson assumes the position of a "propagandist" against the modern democratic idea, which derives in large measure from the men of the Revolutionary era. Democracy means government by consent, arrived at through discussion. When one defines all effort to influence opinion as "propaganda," one is giving such effort an odious connotation and is thus discrediting the whole process of government by discussion and consent. One is discrediting all intellectual effort that results in public expression—the type of intellectual effort that is most significant. And, incidentally, one is discrediting written history, including one's own book.

University of Wisconsin

CURTIS NETTELS

South Carolina in the Confederation. By Charles Gregg Singer. (Philadelphia: Privately printed, 1941. Pp. viii, 183. Bibliography, map. \$2.50.)

Anyone who has glanced at the South Carolina newspapers and public or private records of the years 1783 to 1787 has had a vivid impression of the problems of the time and of the strain that they were putting on the state's institutions. Dr. Singer is not interested, however, in the rehabilitation of tide-water plantations and trade, the slow development of back-country agriculture, nor the changes taking place in South Carolina social and political organizations, and his account of them is the least happy of his efforts. His description of the geographical sections of the state serves its purpose in the main, although the accompanying map contradicts it at several points, and, with no relation to any significant fact in the state's geography or history, confines the upcountry to one

third the area of the piedmont. Aedanus Burke, far from being an "up-country radical" was a newcomer to the state, lived in Charleston, and had little connection with the piedmont. Edward Rutledge was the youngest and not the older brother of John.

These matters are merely the introduction to a study of the external relations of the state, and the monograph, therefore, becomes a chapter in the history of the founding of the new government, the story really beginning with the section on state and continental finances. In a painstaking analysis of the records of the Confederation, Dr. Singer shows that South Carolina made a good record in support of the general government; he estimates that it paid 85 per cent of the specie requests, and notes that only two states paid more in actual amount. Quite as instructive is the chapter on the proposed impost amendment and other attempts to strengthen the Confederation. The author ascribes the readiness of the South Carolina delegation and legislature to accept these proposals to the isolation the state had experienced in the Revolution and to the influence of John Mathews and other leaders who had served both at home and in Congress. In the chapter on the proposed congressional control of trade Dr. Singer shows that although the amendments were approved by the legislature, there was strong opposition in the state due to fear of a possible New England monopoly of the carrying trade—an attitude, he might have pointed out, that dated back to the contest in the Congress of 1774 over the boycott on exports.

The loyalists constituted one of the most grievous problems of the state, and affected its external relations through the treaty of 1783 with Great Britain. In his discussion of the arbitrary confiscation measures of the Jacksonborough assembly of 1782 Dr. Singer finds an upcountry influence by a process which seems to the reviewer unconvincing and in conflict with weighty evidence, including Governor Rutledge's own statement of the financial needs of the state. There was little ready money to be had by selling back-country lands, and that section therefore got off lightly. The treatment of the boundary controversy with Georgia and of the problem of southwestern Indian affairs is interesting and informing. In both cases it was to the interest of the state to support the authority of Congress, and in the question of the Creek particularly, the author points out the salutary influence the state exerted.

As a whole the monograph is an important contribution to constitutional as well as state history. To this reviewer the chief defects seem to be the lack of emphasis on the dread of anarchy which hung over the conservatives in 1783 and 1784 and which was reflected by the South Carolina delegation in the 1787 convention; the failure to make more use of South Carolina newspapers and legislative journals; and careless checking and proofreading which left a number of errors of statement and many typographical slips to mar the pages.

General Washington's Correspondence concerning The Society of the Cincinnati.

Edited by Edgar Erskine Hume. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1941. Pp. xlv, 472. Illustrations, biographical supplement. \$4.50.)

The editor has rendered a real service in preparing this book. For the first time we have in one convenient volume a full body of correspondence about the Cincinnati, Washington's letters as well as those written to him. We have, therefore, a record as complete as diligence and wide inquiry can produce. The result is a book complete in itself. A sketch of the society occupies nineteen pages. A supplement of some fifty-four pages gives brief biographies of those with whom Washington corresponded on the subject. Several reproductions of documents add to the value of the work.

"Everyone acquainted with the Society of the Cincinnati knows that General Washington was its first President," writes Mr. Hume. "That he was a very active head of this, the oldest military society in America, is less well appreciated. He did not consider that office a nominal one. He felt it his duty to carry on correspondence with European and other officers seeking admission, with the heads of the branches in the several States and in France, and, most important of all, with political and military leaders of this country and France. When the Cincinnati was attacked by politicians he defended it and at the same time sought to have its Institution so modified that criticism would be obviated. All of these objectives are reflected in the letters he wrote and those that he received."

One of the sources of Washington's influence as a leader was his ability to humor the harmless vanities of men. Thus he became a Mason, accepted academic honors, served as patron of various enterprises, set store by uniforms and decorations, and quite naturally approved the formation of the Cincinnati. A smaller man would have set himself against many of the things which Washington tacitly or mildly or openly approved. A still smaller man would have opposed some of them fanatically. It has always seemed to me an important element of Washington's greatness and of his faith in people that he believed it possible to turn even the common trifles of life into forces for good. He believed in a trend of ultimate goodness in men. "I am sure," he once wrote, "the mass of citizens in these United States *mean well*, and I firmly believe they will always *act well* whenever they can obtain a right understanding of matters." It was a great part of his life work to give them "a right understanding of matters" by co-operating with them in the affairs of their daily life and turning these activities to good. He preferred to lead rather than to drive men.

In thanking Mr. Hume for this admirable volume I must emphasize the fact that he has set a high example and standard for similar work. I hope he will be emulated. There are many areas of Washington's life about which we have inadequate knowledge or, if the knowledge is available, the facts are scattered and need to be brought together. The whole period of Washington's boyhood,

especially his early education, is but imperfectly known. It may be that no further facts are extant, but as long as there is a possibility of discovering information the search must not be abandoned. Then there is the matter of the two elections of Washington to the presidency. What an admirable book could be written on this subject and how useful it would be to have full information in regard to the choice of electoral delegates, the way they functioned, and all the other intimate details that would throw light on the events.

A paragraph in the first edition of John Marshall's biography of Washington (V, 683-84) has always aroused my interest. "As the time for electing the chief magistrate approached, the anxiety of the public respecting the person in office, seemed to increase. In states where the electors are chosen by the people, names of great political influence were offered for their approbation. On this occasion was evinced in a most extraordinary manner, the strong hold which Washington had taken of the affections of his countrymen. In districts where the opposition to his administration was most powerful, where all his measures were most loudly condemned, where those who approved his system possessed least influence, the men who appeared to control public opinion on every other subject found themselves unable to move it on this. Even the most popular among the leaders of the opposition were reduced to the necessity of surrendering their pretensions to a place in the electoral body, or of pledging themselves to bestow their suffrage on the actual president. The determination of his fellow citizens had been unequivocally manifested, and it was believed to be apparent that the election would again be unanimous, when he announced his resolution to withdraw from the honours and the toils of office." It is a fact that, in face of Washington's announcement, two electoral votes were cast for him, one from Virginia and one from North Carolina. Here again a full history of this election would add much to our knowledge.

Scripps College

WALDO HILARY DUNN

Vashington ou la liberté du nouveau monde; tragédie en quatre actes par Billardon de Sauvigny. Editée par Gilbert Chinard. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1941. Pp. xli, 75. Illustrations, bibliography, appendix. \$3.50.)

The play here reprinted for the first time since its presentation in Paris on July 13 and 14, 1791, is neither a work of great historical value nor a notable piece of literature. It is significant only as a further revelation of Washington's great prestige in the early stages of the French Revolution and as an attempt to influence events in France by reference to the successful revolution in America. The atmosphere of the play is more reminiscent of ancient Rome and revolutionary Paris than eighteenth century Philadelphia. A purported plot against Washington and an attempted revolt against Congress in 1781 are used as an occasion

for advice to the author's own countrymen, who in the summer of 1791 were facing the choice between monarchy and a republic. Interest in this fine edition is enhanced by the inclusion of several illustrations and the publication of a little-known decree of the National Assembly conferring French citizenship on Washington, Hamilton, and Madison. The most valuable part of the volume is Professor Chinard's introduction, which in French presents a brief life of Sauvigny and an appraisal of his work.

Pomona College

E. WILSON LYON

Sixty Years of Indian Affairs; Political, Economic, and Diplomatic, 1789-1850.

By George Dewey Harmon. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941. Pp. x, 428. Bibliography, appendix. \$5.00.)

It is evident from the thirty-two-page bibliography appended to this volume that an extraordinary amount of research went into the making of this account of Indian affairs. The author has made use not only of practically every printed authority and source bearing on his study but has also examined the great mass of manuscript material in the Office of Indian Affairs at Washington. Nevertheless the first feeling of the student of Indian history is bound to be one of disappointment that out of such a wealth of research so inadequate a book should have come. It is manifestly impossible to contain such an extent of investigation in one small volume except by dint of narrow selection and relentless compression. Both these things the author has had to do in order to cover sixty years and both seriously affect the value of the book he has written. He has had to omit practically all notice of internal tribal conditions which at times governed Federal Indian policy. The unavoidable compression cripples the work still more, rendering the treatment perfunctory and making the book little more than a manual of well-known facts. On the diplomatic side of Federal policy there was certainly no factor more important than the Indian agents, but the narrative pays scant attention to them and their work. Hawkins and Schoolcraft receive considerable attention but Meigs, the great viceroy of the Cherokee, is mentioned but once. On the diplomatic side the book is little more than a rapid survey of Indian treaties and could have been written with the aid of merely the *American State Papers*, Kappler, and Royce. The factory system is given very inadequate treatment and the statistics in the Appendix are of too general a nature to be of much assistance to the special student. The author does not clearly tell when the factory system began and has no connected account of the licensed (and unlicensed) traders except for the region beyond the Mississippi. Finally, the chapters on Indian education and civilization give no real picture of the important work of the missionary societies in maintaining Indian schools. On the other hand there is an exceptionally good chapter on the legal right of the Indian to the soil, in which the author takes a position

and buttresses it with quotations from important court decisions. The summary of Indian trust funds is an excellent one and contains a great deal that is not generally known.

The author divides his narrative into two periods. The first, called "The Formative Period," deals with the years 1789-1825 and it is to this part of the book that the criticisms expressed above particularly apply. The period after 1825 is called "The Coercive Period" and is a much better account than the first part. In conclusion, the reviewer wishes to make it plain that his only real criticism of the work, essentially, is that the author has covered too much ground and by so doing has made it impossible to embody in his book the results of his research.

Florida State College for Women

R. S. COTTERILL

Texan Statecraft, 1836-1845. By Joseph William Schmitz. (San Antonio: The Naylor Company, 1941. Pp. viii, 266. Bibliography. \$2.75.)

In a current release of *March of Time*, a Texan boasts his state was once independent and had even sent an ambassador to London. Texas boasting often savors of the frontier quality of exaggeration, but in this case in a slight degree only. It is a fact that the Republic of Texas did send diplomatic representatives to Great Britain and other foreign countries. *Texan Statecraft* is a study of the efforts of these representatives and their home government to obtain recognition, assistance, and eventually annexation to the United States. The diplomatic activities of other nations to further their own interests receive only secondary consideration. The volume rarely departs from the Texas point of view.

The task of demonstrating the interweaving of Texas relations with various countries is difficult, but the author deftly accomplishes it. After the United States recognized but refused to annex the frontier republic, Great Britain agreed, in 1838, to trade with Texas as if she were an independent nation while still recognizing her as legally a part of Mexico. Treaties providing for recognition and commercial agreements were negotiated with France, the Netherlands, and later with Great Britain. In addition, in 1842, Great Britain and Texas exchanged ratifications of a treaty suppressing the slave trade. Negotiations with Belgium, Spain, the Hanseatic Cities, Yucatan, and Mexico were also attempted with varying degrees of success. In the most important of these transactions, General James Hamilton was the foremost figure. Although he failed in his primary purpose of obtaining a five-million-dollar loan, there is evidence that he was largely responsible for the recognition of Texas by several European powers.

In three carefully reasoned pages (175, 176, 198), Dr. Schmitz summarizes and explains the "lynx-fox game" that Sam Houston apparently played with the United States, Great Britain, France, and Mexico. After the United States

had declined to annex Texas, President Houston withdrew the annexation offer in 1838 in the face of the refusal of the Texan Congress to pass a resolution to that end. Nevertheless, the author believes that thereafter Houston constantly favored annexation, although ostensibly "cool to the idea" at times. "Such moves as he made were never intended as final but as measures of precaution; for if it came to the worst and Texas was forced to remain independent, they would have resulted in beneficial alliances or in a nation developed to such a degree where it could maintain itself. If, on the other hand, annexation seemed likely—even after the moves towards lasting independence had been made—the advantages of the strengthened position resulting from such efforts would put Texas in a better position to bargain for terms when annexation would be discussed." Similarly, Dr. Schmitz finds Houston's opposition to offensive warfare against Mexico not inconsistent with his blustering attitude toward that state. Precaution also caused his agreement in 1843 to an armistice with Mexico at the same time that he was showing an increased interest in annexation to the United States.

The records of international politics are often misleading. It is questionable that Houston ever revealed his innermost ambitions and motives in "behind-the-scenes" letters. Neither is the evidence conclusive that Dr. Anson Jones, last president of the Republic, was "indifferent and even hostile to the annexation project." The unattractive personality self-exhibited by Jones in a book about himself and the Republic of Texas, published in 1859, has influenced historians to fail to give him the benefit of doubts accorded Houston; but the Jones of 1859 was a different man from the Jones of the 1840's. Yet on the basis of available sources, the conclusions of Dr. Schmitz are sound and are strengthened by recently published material in Volume IV of *The Writings of Sam Houston*.

By way of the customary academic heckling, the reviewer could point to such heinous sins of scholarship as inconsistencies in footnotes and omissions from the bibliography of cited manuscripts. But he prefers to emphasize that diplomacy is enlivened in the authoritative and readable narrative of *Texan Statecraft*.

Louisiana State University

WILLIAM R. HOGAN

A Pathfinder in the Southwest: The Itinerary of Lieutenant A. W. Whipple during His Explorations for a Railway Route from Fort Smith to Los Angeles in the Years 1853 & 1854. Edited by Grant Foreman. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941. Pp. xv, 298. Illustrations, map. \$3.00.)

Before the United States had time to realize the extent or significance of the territory which the war with Mexico had added to the national domain, gold

was discovered in California. Efforts to control that area and to provide adequate communication with, and transportation to, the new region were urged for the benefit of the rapidly growing population of settlers, gold seekers, merchants, and others who began pouring into the country to form another commonwealth. To meet this wave of popular enthusiasm and demand, Congress authorized early in 1853 three western surveys to chart the best routes to the Pacific.

In command of the southernmost surveying commission was a young officer of the Topographical Engineers, Lieutenant A. W. Whipple. His instructions were to find the most satisfactory railroad route between Fort Smith and the City of the Angels, which would follow generally the thirty-fifth parallel. His command consisted of an escort of dragoons, and a corps of civilian scientists including mineralogists, astronomers, naturalists, and artists. Whipple's survey left Fort Smith in the summer of 1853, proceeded up the Arkansas and Canadian rivers, and after nearly four months arrived at Albuquerque. At that place Whipple met a detachment under Lieutenant Joseph C. Ives, and the companies united. After making the necessary repairs and after being completely outfitted again, they departed early in November for the Pacific coast where they arrived late the following March, 1854.

Nothing came of Whipple's survey immediately, but it undoubtedly influenced subsequent explorations of the country through which it passed. The advent of the War Between the States delayed the building of the railroad which Whipple had envisioned, yet today major portions of this survey are used as main lines toward the West. During the entire period the survey was in progress Whipple faithfully kept a journal. Full of the responsibility he was carrying, and a lover of nature and human nature, he let nothing escape his observation. In the pages of this journal are accounts of stampedes of the mule teams and encounters with rattlesnakes, sketches of well-known frontier guides and trappers whom they met along the route, pictures of the now-famous ruins of Casa Grande, and of the Mexican and Indian settlements through which they passed. Throughout the journal there is a rich reflection of the thrilling beauty of this region as it was before settlement by the Anglo-Americans.

The journal was first published by authority of Congress in limited numbers for official use and information. Thus it was little known to the reading public when it appeared, and in that form it is now to be seen only in the larger libraries and in collections of rare books. From this obscurity the journal has been rescued and reissued with abundant quotations from contemporary accounts. It is accompanied by an excellent map showing the country explored and indicating each day's camp. The editor and the University of Oklahoma Press are again to be felicitated for this attractive contribution to the history of the American Southwest.

Business & Slavery; The New York Merchants & the Irrepressible Conflict. By Philip S. Foner. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941. Pp. ix, 356. Bibliography. \$4.00.)

The subtitle of this monograph, in fact the real title, is *The New York Merchants & the Irrepressible Conflict*. The big businessmen of the country's largest city in their reactions and relations to the problems and events connected with the conflict over slavery engage the author's attention. The chapter headings reveal that the story follows the chronological order. The impressive array of footnotes indicates that the writing of the book came only after extensive research. The author is to be commended for crediting his readers with a general knowledge of American history. If he erred in this regard, it was in assuming too great a familiarity with the history of the period on the part of possible readers. He has traced the reactions of the business element with which he has dealt to about everything that one would expect save the Dred Scott decision. One wonders if the merchant princes of the Empire City were not interested in the attacks on the Supreme Court.

Notwithstanding the wisdom accorded in the concluding chapter to the big businessmen of New York City as they lived through the period they showed little statesmanship or consistency as the years went by. As one follows the careful portrayal of the positions taken by the foremost businessmen of the nation, in one crisis after another, they seem to have shown little penetration. At times their sentiments and convictions changed so suddenly that the author is unable to furnish any satisfactory explanation. During the campaign of 1860, he recognizes the importance of the division that existed in the ranks of the business leaders. There was no doubt a lack of unanimity in preceding crises, which, if studied more closely, would have given a clue to the rather sudden shifts of sentiment among business leaders. From time to time, minority leaders, aided by widespread agitation, were able to win over enough opponents among their fellow merchant princes to carry the day. That is, one wonders if the reversals were really so complete as they seem to have been to the author—from championship of the Wilmot Proviso to ardent support of compromise; from bitter denunciation of the Kansas-Nebraska measure in 1854 to advocacy of Buchanan's Lecompton policy in 1858; from opposition to war to the saving of the Union by conquering the South.

Proof that the big businessmen of New York City could be swept off their feet by a wave of feeling is strikingly manifested in their opposition to the repeal of the antislavery provision of the Missouri Act of 1820. The "Appeal of Independent Democrats" is not mentioned, but the statements of business leaders indicate that they were deeply impressed by the challenging assertions contained in that document as were anti-Nebraska Whigs, anti-Nebraska Democrats, and Free Soilers everywhere. It would seem that the merchant princes of

New York, if any element, could have grasped the true nature of the "Appeal." The majority of them, however, did not notice that its effective portions were not facts, but prophecies (none of which were sound) and unfair charges. Giants of business who had praised Webster's Seventh of March Speech should have done better. In this connection, one is sorry to report that Dr. Foner reveals that he has not met with a modern story of "Bleeding Kansas." His bibliography does not include Dr. Ramsdell's essay on "The Natural Limits of Slavery Expansion" nor the reviewer's papers relative to the colonization of Kansas Territory and to the relationships between Lincoln and Douglas.

In conclusion, it must be said that *Business & Slavery*, a venture in a promising field, is a valuable and interesting monograph. The reviewer has enjoyed reading it and has learned much from its pages. He commends it strongly to all who are interested in the "irrepressible," or "repressible," conflict.

Indiana University

WILLIAM O. LYNCH

Let My People Go: The Story of the Underground Railroad and the Growth of the Abolition Movement. By Henrietta Buckmaster. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1941. Pp. xii, 398. Bibliography, illustrations. \$3.50.)

History may be written with great care and thoroughness, and not be entertaining to the reader. Often when it is written in melodramatic fashion, it has the quality of being entertaining but lacks that of thoroughness. The author has done one part of her task well. She has drawn upon the vast store of factual material relative to the Underground Railroad, and has woven it into a vivid, emotional story. She devotes considerable attention to the operation of the underground system during the Civil War years. The part that the Negro played in aiding fugitive slaves is emphasized. There are impressive portrayals of the personalities of many of the abolitionists, and of their persistence in attaining their goal.

In developing her theme, the author has carried the story of North-South sectionalism through the Reconstruction period. This part of her work indicates that she was writing strongly under the influence of the abolitionists, who are her heroes, and that she has neglected many of the most recent scholarly works pertaining to the period from 1830 to 1877. Most students of the Old South would probably not agree that it was a land where "many" believed "that it was more economical to work a slave to death in seven years and make a good profit than spare him and cut down on the income," or that it was a land in which there were numerous insurrections and so much bitter feeling between slaveholders and nonslaveholders. The southern defense of slavery was not due "simply" to the fact that the section was afraid of losing "\$1,000,000,000's worth of property." Sectional rivalry over transcontinental railroad routes is not mentioned in connection with the repeal of the Missouri Com-

promise, but much is made of the fact that Douglas "was a tricky politician" with ambitions to be president. The part played by the antislavery judges in bringing about a decision in the Dred Scott case is not mentioned at all, but adequate explanation is found in the opinion that "the occasion was too badly needed by the slave power to pass by quietly." The author agrees with the antislavery view, now disproved, that the proposed land grant to Kansas under the terms of the English bill was a "bribe," and she makes the challenging statement that "the Republicans were Abolitionists made palatable for cautious men in the North." One is, indeed, surprised at the unequivocal statement that the South voted down the Crittenden Compromise proposals, and could have had them "and more" had it not been determined upon secession. The writer describes well the emotional response on the part of groups in the North to the antislavery measures of the war period, condemns in sweeping fashion the Black Codes enacted in southern states during Reconstruction, and portrays Thaddeus Stevens as a genuine champion of democracy.

Several errors in statements of fact were detected. Alexander H. Stephens did not see, "bound into the [Mexican] war, all that he believed," for he was an opponent of that war. The Omnibus Bill in that form did not pass Congress in 1850, seven judges did not enter into the majority decision in the Dred Scott case, but only six, and Justice Catron was not from South Carolina. The statement that "both platforms" in 1868 "evaded" the Negro suffrage question as skillfully as possible is difficult to reconcile with the fact that the Democratic platform declared unequivocally that control of suffrage rested in the hands of the states.

Ohio State University

HENRY H. SIMMS

Aeronautics in the Union and Confederate Armies with a Survey of Military Aeronautics Prior to 1861. By F. Stansbury Haydon. Volume I. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1941. Pp. xxii, 421. Illustrations. \$4.00.)

The recent rapid advances in the field of aeronautics are based on many years of experimentation and experience, first with lighter-than-air and then with heavier-than-air devices. A period of armed conflict followed by twenty years of peace and then another armed conflict world-wide in extent has provided the laboratory in which theoretical equipment has been developed and evolved into the modern fighting machine through the practical test of use in armed conflict. As has often been the case with such a rapid technical advance, involving as it has unfamiliar equipment and new technique in function and administration, aeronautical development created distrust, was faced by indifference, and thwarted by deliberate opposition—all designed to prevent any alteration in the existing status of military organization or in the control and administration of what has become a new element in the previously existing military organization.

The use of the balloon, the first aerial weapon to be employed in actual warfare, had been experimented with during the Napoleonic wars; attempts were made to introduce balloons into the American military service during the Seminole Indian wars in Florida and later during the war with Mexico. It was not until the Civil War that balloons were actually employed. Their usefulness as an effective military weapon was, however, greatly handicapped by personal jealousies, technical incompetence, and indifference. After the Chancellorsville campaign of 1863, their use was abandoned by the Union Army and it was not until many years later that aerial equipment was again taken up by the United States Army. This time it was the heavier-than-air machine developed as a result of the success of the Wright brothers' experiments at Kitty Hawk, North Carolina.

During the Civil War balloons were used most extensively by the Army of the Potomac during the fall and winter of 1861 and again during the Peninsula campaign of 1862. Balloons likewise were employed along the Carolina coast in 1861-1862, and an attempt was made to introduce them in the West, but Halleck's indifference and failure to co-operate made these attempts ineffective and caused disbandment of the effort.

In the fall of 1861 the first American Air Force, the Balloon Service of the Army of the Potomac, was created and functioned with varying effectiveness until it was discontinued during the march to Gettysburg in the summer of 1863. Its tactical mission varied, but, in general, its functions were observation of enemy activity, direction and control of artillery fire, and map making.

Jealousy, indifference, and interference, and neglect by subordinate officers out of sympathy with and unappreciative of the functions and use of balloon equipment raised so many obstacles that effective co-ordination with ground operations was impossible and finally the balloon service was abandoned. Even at this early date, however, the need for unhampered control and direction was manifest and was a forecast of the present demand for a separate air service, albeit with vastly more powerful and wider-ranging equipment.

This work, of which the present volume is the first, with a second soon to follow, is a contribution to the history of military aeronautics. An introductory chapter describing briefly aeronautical developments to the time of the Civil War is followed by an account of the personnel, equipment, and methods employed and of the uses and operation of balloons in the northern armies until after the Peninsula campaign. The second volume will complete the history of the balloon service in the northern armies and will tell of the use of aeronautical devices and equipment in the southern armies. There are a number of contemporary illustrations, many footnotes, and a detailed index. A complete bibliography will be included in the second volume.

Locust Valley, New York

THOMAS ROBSON HAY

Laws and Joint Resolutions of the Last Session of the Confederate Congress (November 7, 1864-March 18, 1865) Together with the Secret Acts of Previous Congresses. Edited by Charles W. Ramsdell. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1941. Pp. xxvii, 183. Illustrations. \$2.50.)

The publication of the acts and resolutions of the last session of the Confederate Congress is a much welcome contribution to the history of the Confederacy. The student will relish the opportunity to look upon the work of the Congress that tried to supply legislative remedies while the Confederacy was tottering to its downfall.

This volume was sponsored by Duke University as a tribute to the late Professor William Kenneth Boyd, who collected the source materials of the George Washington Flowers Memorial Collection at Duke University; and to make available to the students of southern history the unpublished Confederate laws contained in this collection which Professor Boyd planned to publish himself. The committee appointed by the late President Few of Duke University to promote the publication of these documents selected Professor Charles W. Ramsdell of the University of Texas to edit them. Wisely the committee allowed Professor Ramsdell also to incorporate all acts and resolutions of the last session of the Confederate Congress and the secret acts of previous sessions not contained in the Flowers Memorial Collection. His patient and resourceful work was highly rewarded. He has produced a volume that contains almost a complete set of the hitherto unpublished laws of the Confederacy.

In his introduction Professor Ramsdell gives an entertaining account of how the acts and joint resolutions of the last session of the Confederate Congress were lost; and of how the late Professor Boyd in 1930 procured ninety of these enrolled acts, certified copies of two others, and enrolled originals of four secret acts and one joint resolution passed in previous sessions but never published, and the official manuscript "Register, C. S. A." The "Register" contains in chronological order "the titles of all the acts and resolutions of the Congress, secret as well as public, from the formation of the Confederate Government in February, 1861, to March 18, 1865."

Equipped with skill and an extensive knowledge of the sources of Confederate history, the editor set out to find the 107 acts, resolutions, and amendments of the final session and the 33 secret acts of previous sessions, listed in the "Register" but not found in the Flowers Memorial Collection or the *Statutes at Large*. The story of how he found the texts of all but one of the missing acts of the last session and all of the earlier secret acts, save four, and checked them for accuracy, is fascinating and exhibits historical research at its best.

The historical craft will be grateful to the editor for the "Bibliographical Note" which he incorporated immediately after his illuminating introduction. A historical sketch of the measures taken by the Confederate Congresses for the publication of their laws, and a complete, descriptive list of all the Con-

federate imprints of those laws is provided. A complete bibliographical note accompanies the title of each imprint.

The book is divided into two parts. Part One (153 pages) contains the laws and joint resolutions of the last session of the Confederate Congress, November 7, 1864-March 18, 1865. They are arranged in the same order as the titles in the "Register," and each one has the number prefixed to its title in the "Register." Part Two (20 pages) contains the secret laws and resolutions passed by the Congresses, February 8, 1861-June 14, 1864. These measures are grouped in the same way as those in Part One. The style of Matthews' *Statutes at Large* is followed, except that no marginal summaries are made and there is no list of titles in the table of contents. After each act the date of its approval is given and the place where it was found.

The last session of the Confederate Congress did a great deal of work. It labored, apparently imperturbably, as Sherman marched upcountry from Atlanta and Grant's cannons thundered around Richmond. Despondency prevailed generally throughout the South but there is nothing in the work of Congress that indicated a defeatist attitude. On the contrary, as late as March 4 it established a flag of the Confederate States, specifying in detail its size, color, and so forth. Various acts were passed for meeting the government's financial obligations; improving policies long since adopted; strengthening the machinery of civil and military organizations; improving the various arms of the service in the field; adjusting the tithe and tax-in-kind laws and the postal service to meet new war conditions; providing for a more efficient transportation of troops, supplies, and munitions; improving the conscription laws and checking absenteeism and desertions; and using free Negroes and slaves on military construction works, and, finally, the slaves as soldiers. The act to increase the efficiency of the cavalry, which made it the duty of the Secretary of War "to cause steps to be taken to insure the importation of a full and regular supply of cavalry arms of the most improved patterns" indicates that it was still possible to import war supplies.

There is no evidence in the laws passed of any awareness on the part of Congress of impending danger, except the appropriation of money (February 23) for the removal of the naval ropewalk from Petersburg to "a more central point"; an act (March 9) authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to remove the Naval School from Richmond, if in his judgment it should become necessary or expedient; and a secret act (March 14) authorizing the President to cause the government archives to be removed from Richmond at any time when "the exigencies of the country" might demand it, and to designate a meeting place for Congress, if events should make wise or necessary such action (p. 139). A secret joint resolution making similar provision relative to the removal of the executive departments and their archives had been adopted on May 27, 1864; and on the same day an act had been passed authorizing the President

to designate a meeting place for Congress, if public exigencies should require it to meet outside of Richmond (pp. 172-73). On March 14 Congress by a joint resolution, the Hampton Roads conference to end the war by diplomacy having failed, declared its "unalterable determination" to continue the war until the Confederate States had won their independence.

Congress was lavish with appropriations. Many new positions in both the civil and military arms of the service, some of high rank, were created and salaries were increased from 50 to 100 per cent. The increase in salaries had become necessary because of the depreciation of Confederate currency. The appropriation bills, especially the general appropriation act of March 1, exhibit the administrative machinery of the Confederacy; and the act for regulating the pay and allowances of "certain female employees" throws light upon the types of public services rendered by the women of the Confederacy. Well-nigh a half-billion dollars was appropriated for financing the war from January 1 to June 30, 1865. The one act of the Congress which has not been found (passed March 16, 1865) made appropriations "for the support of the Government" for the latter half of 1865.

The general tax act of March 11 will be of interest, especially to students of Confederate finance. In addition to taxes previously levied, it provided for income, corporation, excess profits, and sales taxes, and taxes on solvent credits.

Even at this late date curiosity prompts one to peer into the secret acts of the Confederate Congress. Nearly half of them have been printed, either in the *Journal*, or the *Official Records*, but they are very properly, for the convenience of the student, incorporated in this volume along with the hitherto unpublished acts. In the secret acts one finds interesting information about appropriations for the purchase of vessels and equipment from European countries; the purchase and building of gunboats and ironclads for river and coastal defense; and foreign loans and interest on foreign loans. Other interesting items appear, such as the sending of commissioners to southern states that had not seceded when the Confederacy was established; the appropriation of \$2,000,000 for assisting Kentucky in repelling invasion by the armed forces of the United States; the control of railroads by the President; the appropriation of secret service money; provision for the organization of scouts and guards to facilitate transportation across the Mississippi River; and the funding and further issue of treasury notes and the place of cotton in these transactions.

Students of Confederate history will be grateful to the late Professor Boyd, Professor Ramsdell, and Duke University for this volume which practically completes the legislative history of the Confederacy. Its value will readily occur to all. The index has been carefully prepared and provides ample guidance to the subject matter of the laws.

Edwin A. Alderman; A Biography. By Dumas Malone. (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc., 1940. Pp. xi, 392. Bibliography, illustrations. \$3.50.)

The publication, during 1940, of biographies of James H. Kirkland of Vanderbilt and Edwin A. Alderman of Virginia contributes largely to our knowledge of an educational renaissance in the South, beginning about 1895, in which these two educational leaders played so significant a part. Kirkland, in Tennessee, was instrumental in the organization in 1895 of the Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools of the Southern States. At about the same time, Alderman, in North Carolina, working in conjunction with Charles D. McIver and Charles B. Aycock, began a movement for popular education which revolutionized North Carolina and exerted a powerful influence throughout the entire South. As a part of this renaissance, a Conference for Education in the South held its first meeting at Capon Springs, West Virginia, in 1898. Alderman was not present, but in 1901 he became involved in the movement when the Conference resolved itself into the Southern Education Board and soon became the dominant figure from the South. Soon Kirkland, too, became influential in the Board's activity and apparently the paths of these two great leaders crossed for the first time. The General Education Board was created in 1902, and in 1914, with the dissolution of the Southern Education Board, activity was continued under the auspices of the General Education Board.

In this upsurge of educational progress four areas were especially significant: North Carolina, New Orleans, Nashville, and Virginia, with the University of North Carolina, Tulane, Vanderbilt, and the University of Virginia leading the way. It is a notable thing that Alderman's influence, personality, and leadership were dominant within a period of little more than a decade in three of these centers.

From the standpoint of public reputation, Alderman's fame rests on his presidency of three of the South's greatest universities. But to the present reviewer the most significant, the most valuable, and the most enlightening contribution of the book is the presentation of Alderman's work in the educational renaissance of the whole South. The key to all of his services as an educational crusader is admirably presented in an address he delivered in 1915 on the early activities of the Southern Education Board: "The great need of the time," he said, "in Southern life, was the formation of a powerful public opinion for public education." And in 1924, in an address before the North Carolina Education Association, he added: "My own mind at that time was just possessing itself of the profound and exciting conviction—that every human being has the same right to be educated that he has to be free."

This biography of Alderman presents a picture of the southern educational scene over a period of more than forty years. Its author, Dumas Malone, is

a sound and thoroughly competent historian, himself personally acquainted, through his services on the faculty of the University of Virginia, with one of the phases of Alderman's activities in higher education. After a description of Alderman's formative years, Malone presents a striking picture of the reorganization of public education in North Carolina and the development of a powerful public opinion in support of this program. In all of this Alderman was collaborating closely with a remarkable group, composed of such men as Aycock, McIver, Edward P. Moses, Walter Hines Page, and James Y. Joyner, and among them they worked out a transformation in the state. They "rebuilt an old commonwealth."

Alderman had the remarkable distinction of a presidential administration at three of the South's greatest universities: at North Carolina, 1896-1900; Tulane, 1900-1904; Virginia, 1904-1931. His achievements in each of these posts were outstanding, and are adequately portrayed in Malone's biography, but his permanent place in educational history is fixed by his services at the University of Virginia. He was the first person to hold the title of president at Mr. Jefferson's University. It was a difficult post for many reasons, but viewing the picture as a whole, Alderman made a great success of it. He won his way in this conservative society; and though there were many battles and some disappointments, Malone's account of this period seems to justify Alderman's right to be remembered as one of the four or five most distinguished educational administrators the South has produced.

Malone has done an excellent piece of work and has made a valuable contribution to the educational history of the South.

Randolph-Macon Woman's College

THEODORE H. JACK

The Trinity College Historical Society, 1892-1941. By Nannie M. Tilley. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1941. Pp. viii, 133. Illustrations, appendices. \$1.00.)

This little book is a veritable three in one. First, it is a record of the activity and accomplishment of a local historical society, including a satisfactory bibliographical analysis of all its publications. Second, it is a tribute to three distinguished American historians, all of whom hailed from old Trinity College, North Carolina, which in 1924 became Duke University. They are Stephen Beauregard Weeks, John Spencer Bassett, and William Kenneth Boyd. Third, the volume presents the best clinical examples whereby those who guide the destinies of colleges, as distinguished from universities, may learn why a college should collect and conserve documentary source material for historical study. This material includes rare books, manuscripts, old maps, and newspaper files, as well as relics.

Appropriately the book is dedicated to one of the oldest members of the

Society, Robert Lee Flowers, who has recently been elevated to the presidency of Duke University. It is forty-five years since President Flowers began sacrificing his holidays to gather historical records and relics for the institution of which he has just become the head.

Half a century ago, the South was still struggling to emerge from the poverty resulting from its economic collapse of 1865. Undoubtedly, there were defeatists who said, "What's the use of trying to build an historical collection, when others are so far ahead of us?" But men like Weeks, Bassett, Flowers, and Boyd were not defeatists; Miss Tilley's book tells the story of their struggles, sacrifices, and victory.

This history also illustrates the vital part played by the collector with the building of a great library. So-called trained librarians can be hired, but collectors are *sui generis*. This book tells of the solid foundation of scholarship which was laid in old Trinity College before the Duke millions metamorphosed the place into one of the leading southern universities. The men who did that job were more than mere scholars, interested in the mere textual or factual content of a document—they were collectors. Moreover, the whole book confutes that threadbare excuse that collecting is a rich man's game. The men whose records appear in this book apparently did a great deal without money.

University of Michigan

RANDOLPH G. ADAMS

And Still the Waters Run. By Angie Debo. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1940. Pp. x, 417. Bibliography, maps. \$4.00.)

Much has been written in regard to the Five Civilized Tribes—their early history in their homes east of the Mississippi, their tragic removal to the Oklahoma country, their adaptation to the new environment, their plight during the Civil War, and their painful readjustment in the succeeding years. The present volume takes up the account where practically all previous historical writing stopped. It deals with the experiences of these Indians since the passage of the Dawes Act in 1887. Probably nearly everyone, except those directly in touch with the situation, has assumed that in general the policy of disrupting tribal organization and allotting land to the Indians in severalty has been beneficial, and that the rights of the allottees have been protected as fully as could be expected. Any such person who reads this book is due to receive a severe shock. The record as presented by Miss Debo is all the more devastating because of her complete objectivity.

The author has delved thoroughly into the sources and has presented an unemotional, but entirely clear, account of the way in which these Indians, who were so contented and progressive, in their former tribal, communal life, have been exploited since the allotment policy was put into effect. It is a depressing story of graft, fraud, speculation, and crime whereby a large number

of the Indians and especially the children have been despoiled of their property. The operation of the allotment policy with respect to these particular Indians was complicated by such factors as the solemn promises made to them when they were removed to the Oklahoma country; their own high civilization; the sudden influx of white population and the admission of Oklahoma, including the old Indian Territory, into the Union; the presence of numerous freedmen among the tribes; and the fact that some of the Indians' land was immensely valuable because of oil and mineral resources.

The author by no means neglects the groups and individuals who have labored valiantly, often with considerable success, to protect the rights of the Indians. The picture is not entirely dark. Because of a combination of reasons some of these Indians are wealthy and many others are in comfortable circumstances. The author shows no disposition to censure government officials, either Federal or state, except in cases where they were proved to be in league with the despoilers. Recent changes in policy and practice, especially the permission to revive tribal organization, give promise of improved conditions.

The book is written in a fine literary style. It is fully documented and gives ample evidence of painstaking research. It should inspire other studies of a similar nature, although the experiences of the Five Civilized Tribes can scarcely have been duplicated by any other group of Indians, because of differences in background, character, and environment.

University of Oregon

DAN E. CLARK

Ambassador Dodd's Diary, 1933-1938. Edited by William E. Dodd, Jr., and Martha Dodd. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1941. Pp. xvi, 464. Frontispiece. \$3.50.)

"The saddest memories of political life," wrote the late Lord Bryce, "are of moments at which one had to stand by when golden opportunities were being lost, to see the wrong thing done when it would have been easy to do the right thing." Something of this kind of sadness will be the inevitable mood in which the sympathetic reader lays down *Ambassador Dodd's Diary*. Not only are the events that are recorded such as to induce this mood; the diarist himself, as is not difficult to read between the lines, was so moved by the same feeling that power of suggestion must play a considerable part. The missed opportunities were the numerous occasions on which certain ruling elements in democratic countries failed to understand, or to take, the steps necessary to scotch the aggressive proclivities of the fascist dictators. If Oxenstiern's cynical *quantula sapientia* epigram ever had need of the support of conclusive evidence, the activities of the appeasers have now furnished it in superabundance.

The entries in the Dodd diary cover the period extending from 1933 to 1938. The story begins with a telephone call from President Roosevelt offering to

Professor Dodd in Chicago the position of American ambassador in Berlin. Mr. Dodd at once wondered whether his book on Woodrow Wilson might not cause him to be unacceptable to the Germans. This was in a way characteristic of his attitude throughout his period of diplomatic service. He was at the same time uncompromising in his convictions and his judgments and in the smallest matter sensitive, or even hypersensitive, to the possibility that an unguarded word or deed might affect his position and harm the cause of his country. It was not a bad combination. An almost childlike naïveté, though certainly not a pose, was attended by keen awareness that others observed this quality. The only possible disadvantage was that such observation involved an adverse judgment in the eyes of persons who were formally correct and who fancied themselves sophisticated—persons whose judgments Mr. Dodd regarded as unworthy of much consideration. This failure of the Ambassador to be impressed or to be imposed upon, together with a certain innate shrewdness, added up to a somewhat lonely independence.

Mr. Roosevelt was undisturbed by what the Germans might think of Professor Dodd's interpretation of Woodrow Wilson. The President wanted this country to be represented by a liberal and an historian, with some knowledge of, and previous experience with, Germany and the Germans. There seems to be no reason to doubt the soundness of this judgment on the part of President Roosevelt. If the Dodd mission was in one sense a failure, this does not mean that another type of representative would have done better. The contrary is rather the case. Mr. Dodd was never in doubt as to what kind of people Hitler and his associates were; nor had he ever any illusions as to the possibility that appeasement could turn them away from their mad course. He correctly judged that collective security, which he favored, could not justly be called ineffective; for it was never really given a fair trial.

When future historians struggle with the enormous amount of material available to them concerning the immediate origins of the war of 1939, the judgments of the Dodd diary on events and persons will deserve careful consideration. The hindsight of such historians will almost certainly confirm Mr. Dodd's foresight concerning the evil madness of dictators and the folly of appeasement. This foresight was exceedingly rare among diplomats of the time in Berlin. The conclusion is inescapable that the United States was peculiarly well served by its historian-ambassador.

University of Virginia

R. K. GOOCH

Southern Industry and Regional Development. By Harriet L. Herring. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1940. Pp. xiii, 103. Tables. \$1.00.)

For some years the Institute for Research in Social Science of the University of North Carolina, under the direction of Dr. Howard W. Odum, has been

studying American regionalism in theory and practice. The scientific approach to and exposition of the subject are ably set forth in Odum and Moore's *American Regionalism* (1938). They distinguish clearly between historical sectionalism, with its elements of antagonism and disunity, and the planning of modern society in which regionalism emerges as a "definitive economy of balance and equilibrium between conflicting forces . . . [and] offers a medium and technique of decentralization and redistribution." In his *Southern Regions of the United States* (1936) Dr. Odum presents the principle of optimum production—"the South at its best"—"developing, utilizing, conserving all its resources in a balanced economy" at home and in relation to other regions, the nation, and the world at large (pp. vii-viii, 5-6).

In the present volume Miss Herring applies this principle to manufacturing in the Southeast to show what factors in industrial development must be modified to correct the unbalance both within the region and relative to the rest of the country. By means of statistical analysis of the 1937 Census of Manufactures, from which, for various reasons, the wage earner is taken as the best unit of comparison, the author lays bare the strength and weakness of southern manufacturing. In some industries the region may be said to be producing for the nation because each employs a larger percentage of wage earners than the Southeast's proportion of the country's total population. Whether located exclusively in the South (like cigarettes or cane sugar) or to a greater or lesser degree than in other regions (like cotton woven goods—75 per cent, or pulp—25 per cent), all of these industries are not numerous enough and do not pay wages or create values high enough for balanced production. A second group, based on the natural resources or semimanufactured products of the Southeast (e. g., ice cream, paper and allied products, stone and clay), are manufacturing for the region. Many of these pay good wages and create high values. Some should be expanded and the requisite experience and skills encouraged. A third group, especially industries using agricultural products, manufacture for regional balance and aid optimum production in agriculture. They serve to counteract overproduction of the South's staple crops and to scatter markets among producers, since many of these industries thrive as small local establishments. A series of statistical tables interspersed throughout the text conveniently illustrates the theme which Miss Herring so forcibly develops, with due allowance for non-statistical factors. That the South has abundant natural and human resources is obvious. That these resources have been misdirected or wasted to a considerable extent is made clear. This fault can be partially corrected by more adequate vocational education and training in technology; but the citizens who are in a position to make the most of the South's opportunity must plan for both agriculture and industry, and appreciate the fact that "the greatest opportunity for the region lies in the chance to begin manufacturing for itself" (p. 79). The data assembled in this volume and the author's analysis will be of great service to

the historian as well as to the economist and the sociologist. It is to be hoped that the book will also be read thoughtfully by the businessman and the chamber of commerce official.

University of Virginia

LESTER J. CAPPON

Statistical Atlas of Southern Counties; Listing and Analysis of Socio-Economic Indices of 1104 Southern Counties. By Charles S. Johnson and associates. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941. Pp. x, 355. Bibliography, maps, tables, appendices. \$4.00.)

Capably presenting a voluminous amount of statistical material is an intricate and most difficult problem, but with the exception of some minor weaknesses the authors succeed quite well. The title of the book is slightly misleading, however, for a great portion of the material deals with the Negro and Negro education, rather than with general statistical data on the southeastern states. Twenty of the fifty-one indices of social and economic characteristics of the 1,104 counties subjected to analysis are confined to that field.

The first section is devoted to tables summarizing the statistics for the entire region. This is followed by figures for the individual counties of the thirteen states. Appendices include sources and explanations of methods of computation of data. Reference lists by counties and states make up the formal bibliography.

Although the book was published in 1941, the census figures are based on 1930 records, and the value of the study is thereby decreased. It does, however, indicate clearly several features of the region and at the same time confirms the findings in other regional studies. More than half of the counties have no towns of more than 2,500 population and are definitely rural. Cotton is the dominant crop in about half of the counties and it is in these sections that the highest percentage of Negroes is to be found.

The counties have been classified as to agriculture, urbanization, and industrialization. The industrial classification relates only to the extent to which the individual counties are industrialized without indicating what industries are present. The counties containing Miami, Birmingham, Atlanta, Nashville, Chattanooga, Memphis, Louisville, New Orleans, Baltimore, Dallas, Houston, and Richmond are therefore given the same classification though their industrial development may be entirely different.

The maps are disappointing. Only outline maps of the states, with county names and symbols of classification, are given. Colored maps of the whole region indicating the classifications of the counties under the three major indices could have been used to advantage. Also, since the relationship between cotton raising and illiteracy was stressed, particularly among the Negroes, maps showing the degree of illiteracy, distribution of Negro population, and the extent of cotton planting might have been effective.

It is puzzling to note that many counties are listed as having no towns. While no definition is given for what is to be considered as a town it is obvious that there is some inconsistency. Investigation shows that many of the counties listed as having no towns in reality have larger ones than some of those listed in other counties. For instance, Gaylesville, with a population of 204, is listed as the largest town in Cherokee County, Alabama, while Washington County, Alabama, is listed as having no town. Yet Chatom, in Washington County, is considerably larger than Gaylesville.

The work is supplementary to other regional studies, such as that done by Odum, and in spite of the great demographic, agricultural, and industrial changes that have taken place since 1930 it will be of tremendous value in research problems dealing with the southeastern states, especially where the county is the unit on which the studies are based. It is to be hoped that a similar volume based on more recent statistics will follow.

Georgia Teachers College

HERBERT WEAVER

Alabama: A Guide to the Deep South. American Guide Series. Compiled and written by workers of the Writers' Program of the Work Projects Administration in the State of Alabama. (New York: Richard R. Smith, 1941. Pp. xxii, 442. Bibliography, illustrations, map. \$2.75.)

With the recent publication of *Alabama: A Guide to the Deep South* the excellent *American Guide Series* has been completed except for four volumes. Nowadays, when the people of this country are spending over six billion dollars yearly for vacations, the excursionist is fortunate to have such well-organized manuals of travel.

Approximately one third of the book on Alabama is devoted to a region whose written history began four centuries ago with invasion by De Soto. A very adequate discussion is given of many phases of state life—agriculture, education, religion, music, architecture, transportation, industry, art, and literature. Although little has been added to information found in commonplace sources, the section is written in an interesting manner and is presented in a usable form.

The second part of the book is called "Courthouse Squares." Many local items of interest are recounted concerning the history and present-day facts about ten of the largest cities and towns in the state. Fifteen carefully planned tours over most of Alabama's 109 Federal and state highways guide the traveler to the historic points. The very satisfactory map found in the pocket of the binding is an indispensable aid.

One of the most distinctive features of this undertaking is the sixty-four pages of photography. In this respect few of the state guides are so excellent. Here are reproductions of scenes ranging from the poorest of Negro hovels

to the finest of southern homes, from the crude sugar-cane mill to the most scientific and specialized of industries, from a mountain schoolhouse to the chapel of Tuskegee Institute, and from transportation by an oxcart to a modern cotton barge.

The manual on Alabama compares favorably with the others in the series. The Writers' Program is to be congratulated on a worth-while compilation of facts about Alabama, "a region where sharply contrasted influences have shaped the manners and customs of the people." This book does not reach a high standard of scholarly research and literary excellence, yet it has definitely fulfilled the purpose of acquainting residents and visitors with the history and scenic beauty of the state.

Birmingham-Southern College

WALTER B. POSEY

Kentucky: A Guide to the Bluegrass State. American Guide Series. Compiled and written by the workers of the Writers' Project of the Work Projects Administration in the State of Kentucky. Sponsored by the University of Kentucky. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1939. Pp. xxix, 489. Illustrations, maps, bibliography. \$2.50.)

This volume compares favorably with other similar books and meets the need for a comprehensive descriptive guide to Kentucky's many places of interest. Its 107 classified photographs of *National Geographic Magazine* quality are a valuable feature, and the numerous maps of the state and many of its chief cities are very useful and instructive. Part I treats of the "General Background," giving 136 pages to such subjects as archaeology and Indians, history, agriculture, manufacture and mining, the Negro, folklore and music, and Kentucky thoroughbreds.

Part II is devoted to short accounts of seven cities of the state. The omission of others is inexcusable, if this division were necessary. Ashland, Covington, Frankfort, Harrodsburg, Louisville, Lexington, and Paducah are treated. Such features as visitors usually desire to know about are listed, and even the price of admission and the time of the event are given. Information concerning hotels, airports, racetracks, railway stations, and so forth may also be found.

Part III has the caption "Highways and Byways," and is a description of twenty-five tours through the state. This division is the longest (225 pages), and, with the illustrations and maps already mentioned, might have been sufficient, at least as far as the usual tourist is concerned. In fact, it is the *Guide* which the visitor will want to use, be his interests historical, aesthetic, agricultural, or what not; and if his educational advantages have been general, the tours will be even more interesting.

Part IV contains a chronology of events in Kentucky history from 1584 to 1937. There is no event chronicled between 1584 and 1654. Surely the Virginia

grant of 1608-1609 should have been given, for it, rather than the act of 1584, embraced territory that eventually became Kentucky. In fact, the chronology is otherwise not inclusive enough, since many other important events are omitted.

Naturally, such a work is likely to contain many errors. Mention of a few will suffice. The "first seat of government in the West" (p. 165) was not established at "Boonesboro," as every professing American historian ought to know. Furthermore, the place mentioned is properly spelled with "borough" instead of "boro." Bardstown was chartered in 1788, not in 1778 (p. 380). General Green Clay was not buried in the Richmond cemetery (p. 268), but near his old home several miles away. The David R. Francis pioneer monument in Richmond does not wear "the traditional coonskin cap" (p. 268). And lastly, the Indians did not receive "a substantial cash payment for land" (pp. 421, 422) from Richard Henderson's company. They received goods instead. Nevertheless, the book is a worthy contribution and will long be appreciated.

State Teachers College, Richmond, Kentucky

JONATHAN T. DORRIS

Historical News and Notices

The seventh annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association will convene in Atlanta, Georgia, November 6-8. Official headquarters will be at the Biltmore Hotel. Following is the program as announced by the chairman of the program committee, Thomas D. Clark, University of Kentucky. Two sessions are scheduled for Thursday afternoon, November 6. One meeting, with Henry T. Shanks, Birmingham-Southern College, as chairman, will discuss "Newspapers as a Factor in Southern Development." Papers will be read by Granville T. Prior, The Citadel, on "Henry Laurens Pinckney and the Charleston *Mercury*"; and by James W. Silver, University of Mississippi, on "C. P. J. Mooney of the Memphis *Commercial-Appeal*, Crusader for Diversification." A discussion will be led by Culver H. Smith, University of Chattanooga. The other program will be devoted to "Southern Transportation and Trade," with Stanley J. Folmsbee, University of Tennessee, as chairman. Three papers will be presented: "Mobile: Ante-Bellum Factorage Center of the Alabama-Tombigbee Basin," by Charles S. Davis, Alabama Polytechnic Institute; "The Toll Road Movement in the Middle Atlantic States," by J. A. Durrenberger, Georgia State Woman's College; and "Railroad Regulation in Alabama Politics," by James F. Doster, University of Alabama. Two programs will also be held Thursday evening at eight. "Some Post-War Southern Leaders," will be the general topic of a session with Alfred W. Garner, Mississippi State College, as chairman. Papers to be presented are the following: "Simon Bolivar Buckner, Conservative Governor with Vision," by Arndt M. Stickles, Western Kentucky State Teachers College; "John Sharp Williams, Humorist," by George C. Osborn, Bob Jones College; and "John Nance Garner and the Democratic Reaction, 1920-1922," by Alex M. Arnett, Woman's College of the University of North Carolina. The other program will treat "Some Aspects of Latin-American History," and A. B. Thomas, University of Alabama, will serve as chairman. "Elections in Brazil During the Empire: A Study in Practical Politics," will be presented by Alan K. Manchester, Duke University; "Filibustering During the War of 1812," by Harris G. Warren, Louisiana State University; and "American Contributions to the Modernization of Ecuador," by E. Taylor Parks, Berea College. The executive council breakfast is scheduled for Friday morning at eight with Benjamin B. Kendrick, Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, presiding. At ten W. C. Binkley, Vanderbilt University, will serve as chairman of a meeting at which William O.

Lynch, Indiana University, will read a paper on "The South and Its History." This will be followed by a discussion led by Fletcher M. Green, University of North Carolina, E. Merton Coulter, University of Georgia, and Charles W. Ramsdell, University of Texas. A program to be held concurrently will have papers on "History and Population in the Middle Ages," with Charles E. Smith, Louisiana State University, as chairman. Eva M. Sanford, Sweet Briar College, has chosen as the subject of her paper "The Influence of Ancient History in the Middle Ages," and it will be discussed by Truesdell S. Brown, University of Texas. "The Influence of Population on European History," by Josiah C. Russell, University of North Carolina, will be the other subject on this European history program. The regular business session will follow at noon Friday. In the afternoon two programs will be held concurrently. One will have as its general theme "Scientific Development in the South," and Thomas S. Staples, Hendrix College, will preside. Three papers will be given: "Robert Peter, Versatile Scientist," by F. Garvin Davenport, Transylvania College; "The Modern Golden Fleece," by Gerald Forbes, Northeastern Oklahoma State College; and "The Sale and Application of Commercial Fertilizers in the Southeast," by Rosser H. Taylor, Furman University. The other program for Friday afternoon, which will deal with "The French Revolution," will be preceded by a short business meeting for the European historians present. Ross H. McLean, Emory University, will serve as chairman. A paper by John F. Ramsey, University of Alabama, "The Revolt of the French Parlements, 1787-1788: Prelude to the Revolution," will then be presented, and it will be discussed by Harold T. Parker, Duke University. "What Was the Committee of Public Safety?" to be read by J. Huntley Dupre, University of Kentucky, will be discussed by James L. Godfrey, University of North Carolina. The annual dinner of the Southern Historical Association will be held at seven on Friday evening and Benjamin B. Kendrick will deliver his presidential address, "The Colonial Status of the South." On Saturday morning Richard A. McLemore, Mississippi Southern College, will serve as chairman of a program on "Southern Economy and Politics." The three papers to be read are the following: "Some Social and Economic Trends in the Alabama Black Belt, 1880-1930," by Glenn N. Sisk, Woman's College of the University of North Carolina; "Herschel V. Johnson and the Compromise of 1850," by Percy Scott Flippin, The National Archives; and "The Educational Activities of the Grange in Mississippi," by James S. Ferguson, Louisiana State University. Another session to be held at the same time will discuss "Local Historians and the Development of Southern Historical Scholarship." The last program of the Association meeting will be on "Southern Literature and Music," with Benjamin B. Kendrick as chairman. The first paper will be "Southern History in Pageantry," by Samuel M. Selden, University of North Carolina; second, "Musical Memories of the Old South," by Philip D. Jordan, Miami University; and lastly, "Literature of the New South," by Robert Penn Warren, Louisiana State University.

PERSONAL

The marriage of Kathryn Trimmer Abbey, former head of the department of history, geography and political science, Florida State College for Women, to A. J. Hanna, professor of history, Rollins College, was solemnized July 5, 1941, at Tallahassee.

Murray A. Christian has joined the faculty at Randolph-Macon Woman's College as adjunct professor of history.

George C. Osborn, former head of the department of social sciences at Berry College, is now head of the department of history at Bob Jones College. S. B. Thompson, formerly of John Brown University, replaces Professor Osborn at Berry College.

Several announcements from the University of North Carolina are of interest to historians. R. D. W. Conner, former National Archivist, has returned to Chapel Hill as professor of history and jurisprudence to fill the chair recently endowed by Burton Craige. J. Carlyle Sitterson, assistant professor of history, absent on leave during 1940-1941 with a Rosenwald Fellowship, has returned to active duty. Recent graduates of the University who have accepted teaching positions are as follows: J. R. Caldwell, instructor in history, University of North Carolina; William E. Chace, dean and professor of history, Cazenovia College; W. O. Foster, professor of history, North Georgia College; E. Ashby Hammond, professor of history, Flora McDonald College; Oscar Svarlien, instructor in history, Woman's College of the University of North Carolina. The following men hold fellowships and scholarships in the history department for 1941-1942: James C. Bonner, Junius E. Dovell, Allen J. Going, J. Lyle Hill, Arthur S. Link, and Harold S. Snellgrove.

R. Bingham Duncan, Westminster College, has been appointed acting assistant professor of history at Emory University for the year 1941-1942 to carry on the work usually handled by Haywood J. Pearce, Jr., whose leave of absence was extended for another year. W. Edwin Hemphill, who had been acting assistant professor of history at Emory during 1940-1941, returned to Mary Washington College.

Three appointments that have been made at Louisiana State University are as follows: William B. Hatcher, associate professor of history, has been appointed associate dean of the college of arts and sciences; T. Harry Williams, formerly of the University of Omaha, assistant professor of history; J. Merton England, formerly of Vanderbilt University, editorial assistant for the *Journal of Southern History* and the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*.

A. B. Thomas has been promoted to professor and Bernerd Weber has been appointed instructor in history at the University of Alabama.

Several changes have been made in the department of history, geography and political science at Florida State College for Women. Venila Lovina Shores has been named head of the department to replace Kathryn Abbey Hanna; Harry J. Sarkiss, formerly of Findlay College, has been appointed associate professor of history; and Annie M. Popper has been promoted to associate professor of history.

Janet L. MacDonald has been made assistant professor of history and Charles O. Lerche, instructor in political science and history, at Hollins College.

At the University of Arkansas, Kenneth Stamp is serving as instructor in history in the absence of Ward Morton, assistant professor of political science, who is on leave. D. Y. Thomas, professor emeritus, is teaching at the University of Texas during the fall semester.

Gerald M. Capers has been made associate professor of history and head of the department of social sciences at Sophie Newcomb College. At Tulane, Howard P. Johnson has been promoted to associate professor, and Charles W. Centner, Jr., has been appointed instructor in Latin-American history.

Thomas M. Owen, Jr., chief, Division of Veterans' Administration Archives, The National Archives, has been re-elected to the position of National Historian of the American Legion.

E. E. Pfaff, associate professor of history at the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, has been granted a year's leave of absence to participate in a seminar on teacher training at Teachers College, Columbia University. Professor Pfaff holds a fellowship from funds made available by the General Education Board. Elizabeth Commetti and Jane Zimmerman have been appointed instructors in history at the Woman's College.

David A. Lockmiller has been promoted to professor of history and political science and L. W. Barnhardt to associate professor at North Carolina State College. During the past summer Professor Lockmiller taught in the graduate school at North Carolina College for Negroes in Durham.

Herbert Weaver, Georgia Teachers College, has been made head of the department of history.

Gordon T. Chappell, formerly at Winthrop College, is now in the department of history at Newberry College.

Arthur R. Kooker has been appointed assistant professor of history at the University of Southern California, Los Angeles.

William W. Jeffries has accepted a position in the department of history at the University of Mississippi during the leave of absence of Bell I. Wiley.

Summer migrations not previously listed include Clement Eaton, Lafayette College, who taught at the College of the City of New York, and Weymouth T. Jordan, Judson College, who taught at the University of Oklahoma.

The biography of Judah P. Benjamin on which Robert D. Meade, Randolph-Macon College, has worked for a number of years, is now nearly completed and is scheduled for publication early in 1942 by the Oxford University Press.

The following grants by the Social Science Research Council will be of interest to southern historians: pre-doctoral field fellowship in the social sciences to Joseph T. Lambie, Harvard University, for field training through the study of the Norfolk and Western Railway and its influence on the development of the transportation of soft coal; grants-in-aid to J. Cutler Andrews, Carnegie Institute of Technology, for a study of news gathering during the American Civil War, 1861-1865; Albert V. House, Jr., Wilson Teachers College, for a study of rice plantation management in ante-bellum Georgia; Merrill Jensen, University of Washington, for a history of the United States during the Confederation period, 1781-1789; Vernon H. Jensen, University of Colorado, for a history of labor in lumbering—covering the period of the twentieth century and the major producing areas; John Tate Lanning, Duke University, for a history of the political agencies of medicine in the Spanish Colonies (1535-1821); Bell I. Wiley, University of Mississippi, for a study of everyday life of the Confederate soldier; F. Garvin Davenport, Transylvania College, for a study of cultural life in Kentucky, 1800-1860; Marian D. Irish, Florida State College, for a study of the southern labor movement; Weymouth T. Jordan, Judson College, for a study of pre-Civil War plantation practices in Alabama; Chase C. Mooney, Brenau College, for a study of the institution of slavery in Tennessee; Joseph H. Parks, Memphis State College, for a study of the life of John Bell with special reference to the origin and development of the Whig party in Tennessee; Benjamin A. Quarles, Dillard University, for a study of the career of Frederick Douglass, the Negro abolitionist; Daniel M. Robison, Vanderbilt University, for a study of the Whig traditions in the Solid South.

HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The American Association for State and Local History held its first annual meeting at Hartford, Connecticut, October 8. Two panel discussions, "Raising the Standards of Historical Society Work" and "A Publication Program for Historical Societies," and the presidential address by C. C. Crittenden were features of the meeting. There was a joint session with the Society of American Archivists, who also held their annual meeting at Hartford.

The East Texas Regional Meeting of the Texas State Historical Association met in Tyler, May 3. The principal speakers were Robert T. Hill, Albert Wolbert, Mary Reid, Herbert Gambrell, Eugene C. Barker, and Walter P. Webb.

The annual "Boone Day" meeting of the Kentucky State Historical Society convened at the Old State House, Frankfort, June 7. An address, "The Political Ideas of George Nicholas," was given by J. Huntley Dupre, University of Kentucky. A portrait of former Governor A. B. Chandler was unveiled. The annual business meeting of the society was held on October 3 at the Old State House.

The Huguenot Society of South Carolina held its Fifty-sixth Anniversary Meeting at the South Carolina Society Hall, Charleston, April 16. On May 4 the Society unveiled a "Granite Cross" which had been erected at the site of the old settlement at Purrysburg, South Carolina. General Charles P. Summerall, president of the Society, gave an address entitled "The Huguenot Settlement at Purrysburg."

The officers of the Columbia Historical Society, Washington, D. C., for 1940 were re-elected for 1941 at a meeting held in January. They are the following: Allen C. Clark, president; Frederick A. Emery, vice-president; Newman F. McGirr, secretary and curator; Victor B. Deyber, treasurer; John C. Proctor, chronicler. The office and library of the Society is located at 308 National Saving and Trust Building, 15th and New York Ave., NW. The library is available by appointment with the curator. Dues are \$5 a year and members receive *Records of the Columbia Historical Society* without charge. A volume for 1940-1941 is anticipated early in 1942.

The Georgia Historical Society held its annual election in May and officers re-elected were Alexander R. MacDonell, president; Gordon Saussy, first vice-president; Alexander A. Lawrence, second vice-president; and Ola M. Wyeth, corresponding secretary and librarian. A newly elected officer of the Society is C. Hubert Davis, secretary-treasurer.

An outdoor picnic meeting was held on Jefferson Davis's birthday at Fort McAllister. Walter Hartridge, Jr., spoke on the history of the fort.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL

The fifth of the substantial little volumes in the Appleton-Century Historical Essays series, *Democracy in the Middle West, 1840-1940* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1941, pp. xvi, 117, \$1.25), edited by Jeannette P. Nichols and James G. Randall, is the result of a symposium on "The Changing Function of the Middle West in American Democracy," at the April, 1939, meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. Published with the three papers of the group discussion are the remarks of the chairman of the symposium, James G. Randall, and the presidential address to the Association, "The Advance into the Middle West," by William O. Lynch. Professor Lynch treats the transit of civilization into the region, modification and development of institutions and attitudes, and the present importance of the Middle West for the preservation of American democracy. In penetrating essays Henry C. Hubbart, Jeannette

P. Nichols, and John D. Hicks analyze the trends of democracy in the Middle West from 1840 to 1940. Professor Hubbart, who treats the period 1840-1865, emphasizes the emergence of the Middle West in terms of a valid regionalism and the healthy functioning of agrarian, Jacksonian democratic processes (pp. 45-72). Mrs. Nichols discusses a period of confusion, 1865-1900, when the invasion of industrial techniques and temptations brought "contradictory trends," cautious "fence-sitting" politicians and confident panaceists, and a general weakening of resistance, but not surrender, to capitalistic exploitation (pp. 73-96). Finally, Professor Hicks, in "Our Own Middle West, 1900-1940," points out the continuing importance of the middle western farmer, whose "plain common sense" has so often been viewed as radicalism. To some extent, however, even the farmer has gone conservative in his estimate upon the importance of property (pp. 97-117). Professor Hicks concludes that "The Middle West of to-day is less interested in the promotion of new ideas than in the preservation of old principles" (p. 115). Altogether, there is much worth pondering in this collection of studies.

American Manuscript Collections in the Huntington Library for the History of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (San Marino, Calif.: The Huntington Library, *Huntington Library Lists*, No. 5, 1941, pp. viii, 93), compiled by Norma B. Cuthbert, contains valuable descriptive material on twenty-eight manuscript collections, and a supplementary listing of orderly books for the American Revolution, miscellaneous manuscript volumes, diaries, journals, letter books, log books, essays, reports, etc. For each collection there is a discussion of provenance, number of pieces, period covered, subject matter, some important or interesting items, persons, firms, or families represented by several pieces, physical description, and, in several instances, brief biographical statements.

How They Began—The Story of North Carolina County, Town, and Other Place Names (New York: Harian Publications, 1941, pp. v, 73, \$.75), compiled by the workers of the Writers' Program of the Work Projects Administration in the State of North Carolina, discusses the naming of North Carolina, the origin of North Carolina counties, and contains brief statements, in alphabetical arrangement, of the origin of the names of extinct counties, counties still in existence, cities, towns, and villages. Present population, area, and date of creation are given for present-day counties, and altitude, population, dates of settlement and of incorporation for most of the cities, towns, and villages. The introduction admits the possibility of frequent error as the "consensus of opinion" method of determination was often necessary (p. iii).

Some Aspects of Jefferson Bibliography (Lexington, Va.: Journalism Laboratory Press, Washington and Lee University, 1941, pp. 22, \$1.25), by William H. Peden, is the printed version of a paper read at the Cincinnati meeting, May

29, 1940, of the Bibliographical Society of America. Insisting that Jefferson was not a bibliographer, Mr. Peden comments briefly on the bibliographical lists and catalogs made by Jefferson. The author also points out the importance of Jefferson as a "subject for bibliographical research" (p. 16), lists the specialized projects now under way in Jefferson bibliography, and states the need for specific catalogs in the varied fields of Jefferson's library. Such studies, he says, are needed for the still-distant goal of a satisfactory Jefferson bibliography. The Journalism Laboratory Press of Washington and Lee University has done an excellent job of printing Mr. Peden's paper.

Amichel. A Narrative History of the Gulf Coast. Book One—To the Closing of the French Period (New Orleans: The Photo-Lith Company, 1940, pp. v, 93, illustrations, maps), by Laville Bremer, is the first of a projected series of volumes dealing with the history of the Gulf Coast through the American Civil War. The author ascribes the discovery of the region to the Portuguese mariner Gaspar Cortereal shortly before 1500 (pp. 5-9), the discovery of the Mississippi River to Narvaez (p. 13), and the establishment and development of Louisiana to Canadian rather than Continental Frenchmen (p. ii). Most attention is given to the exploration, settlement, and growth of lower Louisiana.

Martin de Argüelles: The First Spaniard Born in St. Augustine and the First European Child Born on the Atlantic Coast of the United States in a Permanent European Settlement (St. Augustine, Fla.: St. Augustine Historical Society and Institute of Science, 1941, pp. 12), by Katherine S. Lawson, cites evidence in support of the contention of the subtitle.

Confederate Belles-Lettres, A Bibliography and a Finding List of the Fiction, Poetry, Drama, Songsters, and Miscellaneous Literature Published in the Confederate States of America (Hattiesburg, Miss.: The Book Farm, *Heartman's Historical Series*, No. 56, 1941, pp. 79, bibliography, \$1.60), by Richard Barksdale Harwell, contains a list of 105 books and pamphlets published in the Confederate States with a finding list for all of them, and a second list of 23 titles which may have borne Confederate imprints but which are unlocated. In the introduction Mr. Harwell discusses the business vicissitudes of publishers in the Confederacy, the number of works published, places of publication, and types of content. There is a foreword by Robert H. Woody.

Early German-American Narratives (New York: American Book Company, 1941, pp. ix, 358, \$1.50), selected and edited by Karl J. R. Arndt, contains three narratives by Germans which picture phases of nineteenth-century American life—in pre-revolutionary Texas, on the Mississippi River, and among the Pennsylvania "Dutch." The introduction traces the literary careers of Friedrich Gerstäcker who wrote two of the sketches, and Charles Sealsfield, the author of the other. The book is intended "to help make accessible to students of American literature,

history, and sociology some of the extensive German source material on the literary, religious, social, and political history of America" (p. v). Exercises and a vocabulary are appended to the text.

An Outline for Mississippi History (Hattiesburg, Miss.: The Author, 1941, pp. 46), by Richard Aubrey McLemore, sketches the outline of Mississippi's development from the beginnings to the 1930's. There is a bibliography at the end of each of the twenty-three sections.

Announcement is made that a catalog of manuscripts in the Keith Read Confederate Collection of the Emory University Library has been completed. Most significant among more than 9,000 items comprising the collection are the following: Jefferson Davis Papers, including letters from William L. Yancey, A. D. Mann, Pierre A. Rost, James M. Mason, Robert Toombs, Alexander H. Stephens, Howell Cobb, Joseph E. Brown, Braxton Bragg, P. G. T. Beauregard, J. B. Hood, Joseph E. Johnston, James Longstreet, Robert E. Lee, James B. Magruder, and other significant leaders in the Confederacy; J. P. Hambleton Papers, including letters from Stephens and Horace Greeley; Aaron Wilbur Papers, including items on blockade running, principally to Savannah, where Wilbur was a prominent merchant; papers of Bragg, Beauregard, Lee, J. E. B. Stuart, and other prominent military commanders; Gourdin-Young Collection, including correspondence of Robert and Henry Gourdin, Louis G. and Henry Young, and letters from J. K. Sass, George A. Trenholme, A. P. Calhoun, J. N. Maffitt, Joseph E. Johnston, and others; Barnsley Papers, composed principally of the correspondence of Joseph Barnsley and his sons; William A. Chunn Papers; John H. Hewitt Papers, principally literary relics; correspondence of Charles B. Thurston, a Union soldier; various autographed letters of Lincoln, Johnson, Seward, and other prominent Union officials; and record books, diaries, and military reports relating to the Confederate armies, particularly to the Army of the Tennessee. Most of the manuscripts are now available, with certain restrictions, to the researcher.

Among recent accessions to the manuscript collections of the University of Virginia the following are noteworthy: business papers of the Fairfax, Grayson, Lee, Marshall, and Wormeley families, 1763-1829, concerning some of the most prominent members of these northern Virginia families, 146 items; six additional letters of Thomas Jefferson, and four preliminary drawings for his proposed plan of the White House; two letters of General Hugh Mercer; two letters of George Mason; Virginia militia order book of Joseph Jones and others, Williamsburg, 1775-1780, including orders of Generals Mühlenberg and Von Steuben, an extract of a Thomas Jefferson letter, and mention of Colonel James Monroe; account book, 1780-1800, and medical notes of Dr. Austin Brockenhough of Essex County, Virginia; additional business papers and correspondence

of James Hunter, merchant of Fredericksburg, Virginia, in the late eighteenth century, 400 items; Charles Lee's register of cases in the Virginia courts, 1794; daybook, 1798-1799, of a merchant at Walkerton, King and Queen County, Virginia; original manuscripts of two works of Antoine Louis Claude, Comte Destutt de Tracy, (1) "A Commentary and Review of Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws . . .," 215 pages (published in Philadelphia, 1811), with a memorandum by Jefferson, (2) "A Treatise of Political Economy . . .," 215 pages, used by Jefferson in preparing the translation published in Georgetown, 1817; 25 letters of Henry Clay, 1813-1849; approximately 2,000 manuscripts, 1820-1890, of the Holland family of Franklin County, Virginia, chiefly the papers of Asa Holland, deputy sheriff of Franklin County; 40 letters and other papers, 1830-1870, of Dr. Francis T. Stribling, director of the Western State Insane Asylum, Staunton, Virginia; correspondence, business papers, and medical records of the Winn family of Fluvanna County, Virginia, 1830-1900, about 450 items, chiefly letters of Dr. John F. Winn, medical student at the University of Virginia, 1873-1875, to his father, Dr. P. J. Winn; papers of the Sons of Temperance, Port Republic, Virginia, 1848-1892, 12 volumes, 50 loose manuscripts; 22 letters, 1850-1853, written from California and points en route by Edwin Webster Culver to his wife in Grayson County, Indiana, discussing prospecting, quartz mining, and life in California; 19 letters of Robert Edward Lee to his brother, Charles Carter Lee, 1840-1860; miscellaneous papers and correspondence of the Staples and Persinger families of Patrick and Roanoke counties, Virginia, 1850-1935, 300 items; 112 additional letters of David F. Dobie, Henry S. Spaulding, and other soldiers of the invading army, written from Virginia during the Civil War, together with papers of the 24th Corps, U.S.A., and printed reports of courts-martial; letter book, 1862-1863, of Captain J. T. Champneys, C.S.A. engineer, including records of supplies issued in 1862, and about 75 letters and reports covering his work in charge of the defenses of Fort Sumter in 1863; correspondence, 1879-1917, of Samuel W. Marvin, an executive officer of Charles Scribner's Sons, 51 items; additional papers of Edwin Anderson Alderman, late president of the University of Virginia, 1,000 items; notes and documents used by Dumas Malone in preparing his biography of Alderman; political correspondence, 1921-1922, of the late Senator and Secretary of the Navy, Claude Swanson, 16,000 items; numerous single letters and documents of notable persons, including among many others the following: Phyllis Bentley, Robert Brooke, Winston Churchill (American novelist), Winston Churchill (British statesman), John W. Daniel, Hamlin Garland, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, William Hopkins, Edward Jennings, Charles Lee, Ludwell Lee, Theodorick Lee, Thomas Lee, Walter Lippmann, James Madison, Charles Fenton Mercer, Nicholas P. Trist, Owen Wister, and Woodrow Wilson.

Among recent acquisitions of photostats and microfilm the chief emphasis has continued to be upon Jefferson, Lee, and Poe manuscripts in private hands

or in depositories distant from the University. The year's photographic program at the Alderman Library has included a number of family Bible records, as well as private manuscript collections, borrowed for copying, which rival in importance and in many instances supplement the original manuscripts (Lee, Jefferson, etc.) acquired.

Almost as numerous and important as the outright accessions of the year have been the deposits for safekeeping. These manuscripts range in date from 1667 to 1940. Many of them are available to investigators.

Recent acquisitions, numbering more than seventy-five, of the Southern Historical Collection of the University of North Carolina include the following: letters of Clifford Anderson, private and lieutenant, C.S.A., later brigadier general of the Georgia militia; plantation journal and account book of John D. Ashmore of South Carolina, for the years 1853-1856; letters, telegrams, photographs, maps, and other material of General Herman Biggs, U.S.A., dealing with his service in the Union army in North Carolina and other places; copy of "Political Experience of Major General Jacob Dolson Cox," typed and bound by William Cox Cochran; letters of William Porcher Miles to James Amédée Gaudet and others; record book of Globe Church, Caldwell County, North Carolina, 1797-1911; the minute book of Guilford County, North Carolina, militia, 1806-1854; medical notes of Dr. Henry Lewis, Brunswick County, Virginia, at the University of Pennsylvania, 1814; letters of William Gaston Lewis, brigadier general, U.S.A.; diary and papers of John McLaren McBryde, president of Virginia Polytechnic Institute; cash book of Miss Nancy Matthews, 1854-1864; journal of James W. Metcalf of Mississippi, kept at Indiana University, 1841-1842; correspondence and papers of Quincy S. Mills, alumnus of the University of North Carolina, killed in France, 1918; papers of Dr. W. H. Morgan, dean of the school of dentistry, Vanderbilt University; letters, autobiography, and genealogical material of J. G. M. Ramsey of Tennessee, 1716-1879; letter book of N. A. Ramsey, North Carolina; diary of George N. Thompson, Caswell County, North Carolina, 1851-1876; and papers of Captain William Victor Tomb, U.S.N., regarding United States destroyers in European waters, 1918.

The Collection has acquired additions to the Edward Porter Alexander, Alexander-Hillhouse, Arnold Appleton, Ruffin-Roulhac-Hamilton, Mackay-Stiles, Griffith John McRee, John Steele Henderson, W. F. Martin, Peter Evans Smith, and Jonathan Worth papers, and to the Taylor Beatty and Hentz diaries.

Microfilms have been made of a number of manuscripts, including thirteen volumes of the diaries of Henry Waring Ball of Mississippi; letters of Lucius J. Polk and of Governor James Hamilton of South Carolina; the scrapbook of Oliver H. Prince of Georgia, 1834; plantation book of Henry McCall, Ascension Parish, Louisiana; Civil War diary of S. M. Meek; plantation records of "New-

stead," Washington County, Mississippi; and miscellaneous papers dealing with the cultivation of rice and stock raising.

Manuscripts recently received by the Virginia Historical Society include the following: a collection of Lee Papers contributed by Charles G. Lee in memory of his father Edmund Jennings Lee; and a number of letters written by and to Dr. A. G. Grinnan, which were presented by Dr. St. George Grinnan.

The Georgia Department of Archives, Atlanta, announces the completion of the indexing of sixteen volumes of unpublished colonial records of Georgia. These records have already been typed and bound.

The North Carolina Historical Commission has recently acquired the following new materials: 18 volumes of minute dockets, expense books, tariff records, and statements of property listed for taxation by railroad companies of the North Carolina Railroad Commission, 1891-1899; 30 volumes and 80 boxes of minute dockets, judgment dockets, valuation of railroads, certificates of incorporation of business firms, expense books, North Carolina Coal Committee records, and railroad tariffs of the North Carolina Corporation Commission, 1899-1934; 23 volumes and 195 file boxes of records of the Banking Commission, a division in the Corporation Commission, consisting of minutes, boards of directors' meetings, correspondence, reports of bank examiners, and miscellaneous items, 1899-1934, and also 27 file boxes of call reports of banks, 1887-1888; approximately 145 volumes of Wake County records consisting of the minutes of the pleas and quarter sessions of court, 1787-1868; and Wake County judgment dockets, guardian bonds and accounts, inventories and settlements of estates, registration books, trial, recognizance, and execution dockets, accounts, and miscellaneous material, 1772-1936.

The Kentucky State Historical Society has received several files of Frankfort newspapers, 1879-1912.

The University of Kentucky has secured a file of the Paris *Kentuckian-Citizen* and *Bourbon News*, 1866-1941.

ARTICLES ON THE STATES OF THE UPPER SOUTH

"The Revolutionary Impulse in Maryland," by Charles A. Barker, in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* (June).

"William Goddard's Victory for the Freedom of the Press," by W. Bird Terwilliger, *ibid.*

"Control of the Baltimore Press during the Civil War," by Sidney T. Matthews, *ibid.*

"Reading Interests of the Professional Classes in Colonial Maryland, 1700-1776," continued, by Joseph T. Wheeler, *ibid.*

"Historical Silver in the Commonwealth of Virginia," by Edward M. Davis III, in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* (April).

- "The Fredericksburg Peace Ball," by David M. Matteson, *ibid.*
- "Captain Robert Stobo," continued, by George M. Kahl, *ibid.*
- "Three Petersburg Theatres," by Edward A. Wyatt IV, in the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* (April).
- "Alexandria's Lancasterian Schools," by William B. McGroarty, *ibid.*
- "Glassmaking in Virginia, 1607-1625," I, by Charles E. Hatch, Jr., *ibid.*
- "The Colonial Churches of Norfolk County, Virginia," by George C. Mason, *ibid.*
- "Jackson's Quarrel with the Alleged 'Calhounite' Cabinet Members in 1830-31," by Richard R. Stenberg, in *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* (April).
- "William Gaston: Southern Statesman," by Joseph H. Schauinger, in the *North Carolina Historical Review* (April).
- "Willie Jones of Halifax," II, by Blackwell P. Robinson, *ibid.*
- "Frontier Education in Spanish Louisiana," by Ernest R. Liljegren, in the *Missouri Historical Review* (April).
- "Fort Orleans of the Missouri," by Gilbert J. Garraghan, *ibid.*
- "Major Alphonso Wetmore," by Kate L. Gregg, *ibid.*
- "The Southern Press in Missouri, 1861-1864," by William F. Swindler, *ibid.*
- "The Life and Times of John Pope, 1770-1845," by Orval W. Baylor, in the *Filson Club Historical Quarterly* (April).
- "The French in Early Kentucky," by J. Huntley Dupre, *ibid.*
- "Aetna Furnace, Hart County, Kentucky (1816-185-)," by O. M. Mather in the *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* (April).
- "The Blair Family in the Civil War," concluded, by Grace N. Taylor, *ibid.*
- "Judge William Pressley Thompson," by J. Berry King, in the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* (March).
- "Governor William Malcolm Guy," by John B. Meserve, *ibid.*
- "General Richard Barnes Mason," by Carolyn T. Foreman, *ibid.*
- "Miller County, Arkansas Territory: The Frontier That Men Forgot," III, by Rex W. Strickland, *ibid.*
- "The Civil War in the Indian Territory, 1862," continued, by Dean Trickett, *ibid.*
- "History of the Osage Blanket Lease," by Gerald Forbes, *ibid.*
- "John Jasper Methvin, 1846-1941," by Sidney H. Babcock, *ibid.* (June).
- "Colonel James B. Many, Commandant at Fort Gibson, Fort Towson and Fort Smith," by Carolyn T. Foreman, *ibid.*
- "Historical Background of the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation," by Grant Foreman, *ibid.*
- "The Newspapers of the Panhandle of Oklahoma, 1886-1940," by Elsie C. Gleason, *ibid.*
- "Townsite Promotion in Early Oklahoma," by Homer S. Chambers, *ibid.*

"Early History of the Grain Business in Oklahoma," by E. H. Linzee, *ibid.*

"The Missionary Work of the Reformed (Dutch) Church in America, in Oklahoma," III, by Richard H. Harper, *ibid.*

DOCUMENTS AND COMPILATIONS ON THE STATES OF THE UPPER SOUTH

"Shipbuilding on the Chesapeake: Recollections of Robert Dawson Lambdin," with an introduction by John P. Cranwell, in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* (June).

"The Haynie Letters," edited by Doris Maslin Cohn, *ibid.*

"Baltimore County Land Records of 1687," contributed by Louis D. Scisco, *ibid.*

"A Letter from the Springs," contributed by George G. Buck, *ibid.*

"The Minute Book of the Buffalo Circulating Library, Prince Edward County, Virginia, 1803-18," continued, edited by Joseph D. Eggleston, in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* (June).

"William Byrd 'Title Book,'" continued, edited and annotated by Mrs. Rebecca Johnston, *ibid.*

"Copies of Extant Wills from Counties Whose Records Have Been Destroyed," continued, by George H. S. King, in *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* (April).

"Powhatan Courthouse Located, July 28, 1777," copied by W. S. Morton, *ibid.*

"Reconstruction Letters from North Carolina," I, "Letters to Thaddeus Stevens," edited by James A. Padgett, in the *North Carolina Historical Review* (April).

"Diary of Colonel Richard Ware Wyatt on Horseback Trip to the Western Country in 1830," edited by George H. S. King, in the *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* (April).

"Kentucky Marriages and Obituaries," continued, compiled and edited by G. Glenn Clift, *ibid.*

"Early Marriage Records of Madison County, Ky.," continued, compiled by W. Rodes Shackelford, *ibid.*

"The Letters of Colonel Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky," continued, edited by James A. Padgett, *ibid.*

"Notes from *The Northern Standard*, 1842-1849," continued, edited by James D. Morrison, in the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* (March).

ARTICLES ON THE STATES OF THE LOWER SOUTH

"Legislative Domination in South Carolina," by George R. Sherrill, in the *Proceedings of the South Carolina Historical Association* (1941).

"The Georgia Gubernatorial Election of 1880," by Kenneth Coleman, in the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* (June).

"Colonel Elijah Clarke in the Tennessee Country," by Samuel C. Williams, *ibid.*

"Colerain Plantation," III, by Savannah Unit, Georgia Writers' Project, WPA, *ibid.*

- "The Reverend Dr. Richard Bundy. A Trustee for Georgia," by H. B. Fant, in the *Wiltshire* [England] *Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* (December).
- "Moses Elias Levy," by Leon Huhner, in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* (April).
- "The Courts of Territorial Florida," by Charles D. Farris, *ibid.*
- "Colonial Pensacola: The British Period," III, by Clinton N. Howard, *ibid.*
- "The Union Catalog of Floridiana," by A. J. Hanna, in *Special Libraries* (May-June).
- "William Parish Chilton," by Lucien D. Gardner, in the *Alabama Historical Quarterly* (Winter, 1940).
- "Later History of Madison County," concluded, by Thomas J. Taylor, *ibid.*
- "Public Education for Whites in Mississippi," by George D. Humphrey, in the *Journal of Mississippi History* (January).
- "Free Negroes in Monroe County during Slavery Days," by W. A. Evans, *ibid.*
- "The Theatre in Natchez," by William B. Gates, *ibid.* (April).
- "Guide to Depositories of Manuscript Collections in Louisiana," by Historical Records Survey, WPA, in the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* (April).
- "Tombs of Historical Interest in the Saint Bernard Cemetery," by Calvin A. Claudel, *ibid.*
- "The Successors of Laffite," by John Smith Kendall, *ibid.*
- "The Genesis of Germantown, Louisiana," by Karl J. R. Arndt, *ibid.*
- "New Orleans under General Butler," by Howard P. Johnson, *ibid.*
- "Radical Disfranchisement in Arkansas (1865-1874)," by William A. Russ, Jr., in *Susquehanna University Studies* (March).
- "Rampant Individualism in the Republic of Texas," by William R. Hogan, in the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* (April).
- "The Life of Colonel R. T. Milner," continued, by Rosalind Langston, *ibid.*
- "The Myth of Frontier Individualism," by Mody C. Boatright, in the *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly* (June).
- "Military Posts in the Southwest, 1848-1860," by A. B. Bender, in the *New Mexico Historical Review* (April).

DOCUMENTS AND COMPILATIONS ON THE STATES OF THE LOWER SOUTH

- "Internal Improvements in South Carolina, A Letter from Abram Blanding to Joel R. Poinsett," contributed by J. H. Easterby, in the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* (April).
- "Public Poor Relief in Colonial Charleston, A Report to the Commons House of Assembly about the Year 1767," *id.*, *ibid.*
- "The Poinsett-Campbell Correspondence," continued, edited by Samuel G. Stoney, *ibid.*

- "The Journal of John Blake White," continued, edited by Paul R. Weidner, *ibid.*
- "Journal of General Peter Horry," continued, *ibid.*
- "Marriage and Death Notices from the City Gazette of Charleston, S. C.," continued, contributed by Elizabeth H. Jervey, *ibid.*
- "Papers Relating to the Georgia-Florida Frontier, 1784-1800," concluded, edited and translated by D. C. Corbitt, in the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* (June).
- "Old Canoochee Backwoods Sketches," XIV, by Julia E. Harn, *ibid.*
- "From a Remote Frontier: Letters Passing Between Captain Harries in Command at Apalache (St. Marks) 1763-1764 and the Commanders-in-Chief, Amherst and Gage," II, edited by Mark F. Boyd, in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* (April).
- "Journal of James A. Tait for the Year 1813," edited by Peter A. Brannon, in the *Alabama Historical Quarterly* (Winter, 1940).
- "Martin Marshall's Book: Herb Medicine," continued, edited by Weymouth T. Jordan, *ibid.*
- "Letter from Jefferson Davis to General Beauregard," *ibid.*
- "Diary of Captain Edward Crenshaw of the Confederate States Army," concluded, *ibid.*
- "Mississippiana for Public, High School, and Junior College Libraries," compiled by William D. McCain, in the *Journal of Mississippi History* (January).
- "The Road to Freedom," edited by W. M. Drake, *ibid.*
- "Plantation Report from the Papers of Levin R. Marshall of 'Richmond,' Natchez, Mississippi," edited by Theodora B. Marshall and Gladys C. Evans, *ibid.*
- "Zachary Taylor in Mississippi," edited by Holman Hamilton, *ibid.* (April).
- "Records of the Superior Council of Louisiana, October-December, 1762," LXXXVII, edited by G. Lugano, revised by Walter Prichard, in the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* (April).
- "Index to the Spanish Judicial Records of Louisiana, July, 1784," LXIX, by Laura L. Porteous, marginal notes by Walter Prichard, *ibid.*
- "Memories of a Texas Land Commissioner, W. C. Walsh," contributed by Charles W. Ramsdell, Jr., with a foreword by J. F. Clark, in the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* (April).

GENERAL AND REGIONAL ARTICLES, DOCUMENTS, AND COMPILATIONS

- "Jefferson Davis's Route from Richmond, Virginia, to Irwinville, Georgia, April 2-May 10, 1865," by Nora M. Davis, in the *Proceedings of the South Carolina Historical Association* (1941).
- "Notes on Some Prevailing Fallacies in Southern Ante-Bellum History," by Fabian Linden, in the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* (June).

- "The Sick Poor in Colonial Times," by Albert Deutsch, in the *American Historical Review* (April).
- "Charles Carroll's Plan of Government," edited by Philip A. Crowl, *ibid.*
- "Early Cotton Regulation in the Lower Mississippi Valley," by W. B. Hamilton, in *Agricultural History* (January).
- "The Climatic Theory of the Plantation," by Edgar T. Thompson, *ibid.*
- "The Effects of Slavery upon Nonslaveholders in the Ante Bellum South," by Robert R. Russel, *ibid.* (April).
- "Slave Law and the Social Structure," by Wilbert E. Moore, in the *Journal of Negro History* (April).
- "The Antislavery 'Gag-Rule': History and Argument," by Robert P. Ludlum, *ibid.*
- "The Religious Environment of Lincoln's Youth," by John F. Cady, in the *Indiana Magazine of History* (March).
- "The Southwest Territory to the Aid of the Northwest Territory, 1791," by Samuel C. Williams, *ibid.* (June).
- "Some Civil War Letters and Diary of John Lympus Barnett," edited by James Barnett, *ibid.*
- "Fort Sumter Again," edited by David R. Barbee and Milledge L. Bonham, Jr., in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (June).
- "The Germantown Protest of 1688 Against Negro Slavery," by Hildegard Binder-Johnson, in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (April).
- "The Press: President Lincoln's Philadelphia Organ," by Elwyn B. Robinson, *ibid.*
- "The Northern Clergy and the Impending Crisis, 1850-1860," by George Harmon, *ibid.*
- "The Relations of the United States with South America during the American Civil War," by Nathan L. Ferris, in the *Hispanic American Historical Review* (February).
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